

Thursday May 14 1998

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Europe's most corrupt state

The man who brought Belgium to its knees

G2 with European weather



Computing, science and technology

How sex drives innovation on the Net

Online, G2 pages 12-13

Cannes

Derek Malcolm reviews the first day's films

G2 page 10

From out of the slums, a seething anger takes grip

As Indonesian TV broadcasts footage of President Suharto chuckling, troops and riot police are battling to salvage his so-called New Order.

Andrew Higgins reports

IN SOIL, the colour of dried blood, Hery Hartanto yesterday found sanctuary in about the only tranquil place left in Jakarta — a 5ft deep hole at Taman Kusir cemetery.

As mayhem gripped the city where the engineering undergraduate last week celebrated his 21st birthday, his body slipped gently into the ground, wrapped in white gauze and scattered with rose petals.

Across town plumes of thick black smoke billowed from a burning petrol station near Trisakti university, the campus where Mr Hartanto and five fellow students were shot dead by soldiers on Tuesday and where seething anger yesterday propelled much of the city into chaos.

Cars blazed, a bank smouldered, shops fell to looters and lamp posts crashed to the ground in a wild spasm of violence.

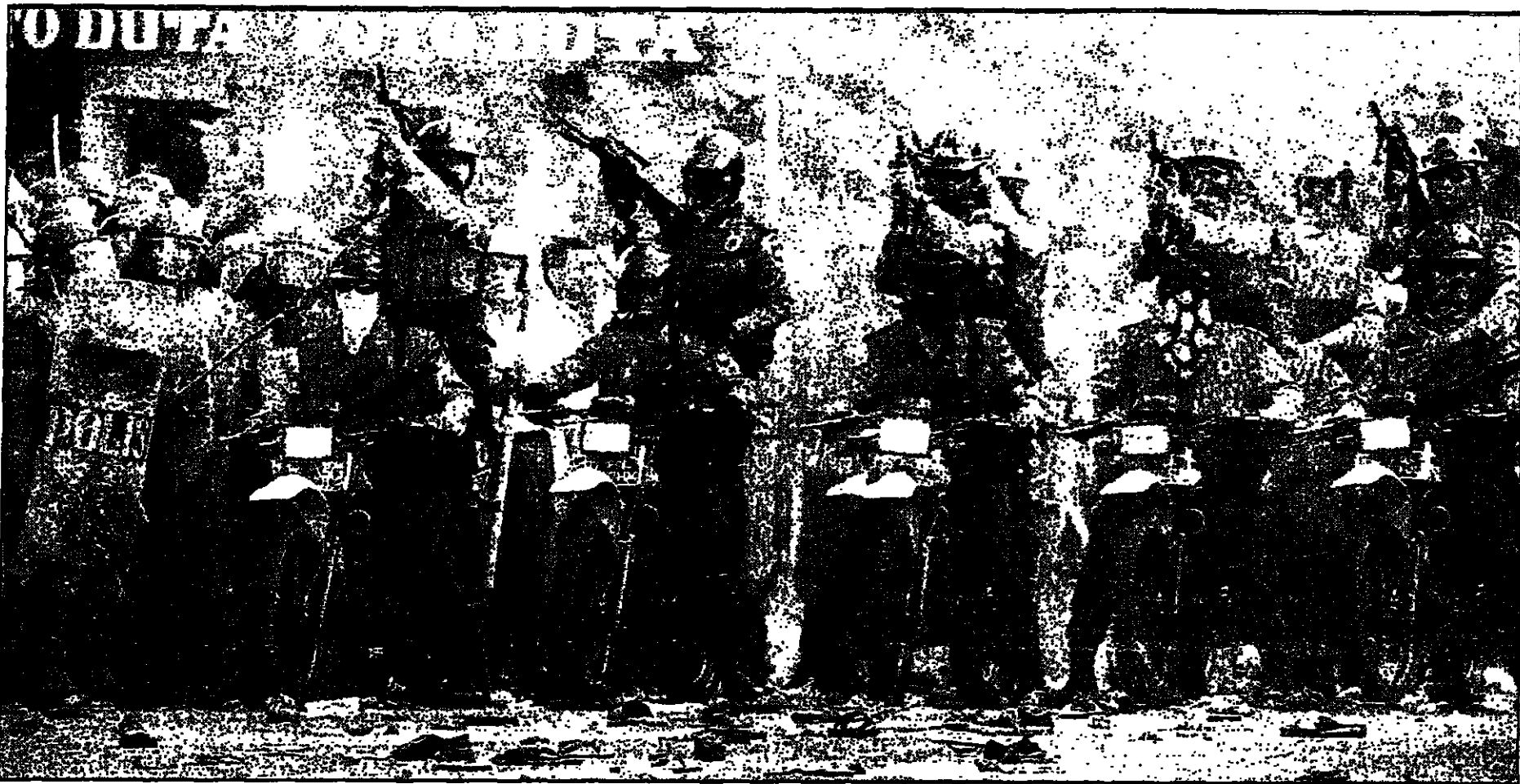
lence fed by an explosive cocktail of angry grief, economic pain, ethnic tension and escalating fury at the country's absent and aged leader, President Suharto.

As state television broadcast footage of Mr Suharto chuckling at a conference in Egypt, troops and riot police battled to salvage his so-called New Order, the rapidly unravelling regime that has governed Indonesia's 200 million people since 1965.

Violence also flared in Surabaya, a major industrial city in east Java, and Yogyakarta, the cultural heart of Indonesia's main island.

"In every revolution there are victims. But we don't want to be victims anymore. Our goal is reform not slaughter," said Dimas, an undergraduate who joined some 4,000 other mourners at the cemetery to bury two of the six students killed on Tuesday.

War, though, was what widens swaths of Jakarta yesterday. What began as a day of sombre mourning darkened amid the acrid smoke into an orgy of destruction. Police repeatedly opened fire with tear gas and rubber



Armed police on motorcycles prepare to fire in clashes outside Gajah Mada university in Yogyakarta, Java, yesterday. Some 8,000 students took to the streets. PHOTOGRAPH: PATRICK DE NOIRMONT

bullets. But, unlike Tuesday, there was no confirmed use of live ammunition.

Putra. The attack repeated the pattern of violence last week in Medan, a city in north Sumatra.

Stockbrokers sent much the same message as they rushed to unload shares in conglomerates at the core of a system of crony capitalism dominated by Mr Suharto's family and friends. The market plunged by more than 8 per cent. Particularly hard hit

was Bimantara, controlled by Mr Suharto's son Bambang Trihatmaja, and Citra Marga, part of a business empire run by his eldest daughter — and welfare minister — Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana. One of Citra's main money-earners, a toll road from the airport, was shut for most of the day by police trying in vain to contain the mayhem.

stability needed to implement the reforms we want". For protesters who gathered yesterday at Trisakti university to grieve for the dead, however, only the end of the president's rule will bring order. Scrawled in red on the wall of the campus was "turn to page 2, column 3".

Prescott squeezes sweeteners out for lobbying unions

Seamus Milne Labour Editor

TONY Blair has agreed a package of last-minute sweeteners on union recognition in response to intense ministerial and union lobbying — including on the crucial balloting arrangements and small firms exemption — which now look almost certain to defuse the threatened TUC and Commons revolt.

The Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, and TUC General Secretary John Monks, who was told of the final concessions by Mr Blair on Tuesday, played the central role in securing the final amendments to the long-awaited Fairness at Work white paper, senior Whitehall sources said last night.

Four key amendments have been made to the white paper, the Guardian has learned, to sweeten the pill of Mr Blair's continuing insistence that at least 40 per cent of a workforce will have to vote for union recognition rights, rather than a simple vote majority.

In what is likely to prove the most effective concession, the 40 per cent threshold will now be subject to a review after a "reasonable period" —

understood to be around two years — if, as the TUC fears, the minimum figure makes the recognition law unworkable in practice.

The exemption from recognition obligations for small firms will now only apply to those employing fewer than 20, rather than 30, as the Prime Minister had previously demanded. Five million workers will still be excluded but the change would make

"These changes show that Blair has listened to both sides, but the TUC has been a lot more professional than we've seen before," a minister said.

"a very big difference to the coverage of the legislation", one minister said last night. "Trade unions will also now have the right to propose the 'relevant bargaining unit' — or group of workers to be balloted — and the employer will have to appeal to an independent agency, rather than the other way round."

Finally, Mr Blair has abandoned his earlier preference for a specific "trigger mechanism" before workers could even be balloted on union recognition rights. Proposals for

a prior 15 per cent membership requirement or some other minimum show of support had been floated in Government. That will now be left to the independent agency, likely to be the Central Arbitration Committee, to decide, depending on the size of the firm.

Union sources said last night that, although there would still be strong opposition to the 40 per cent hurdle

— which is likely to be difficult to achieve among dispersed workforces in a postal ballot — the overall package was now likely to be accepted. Mr Blair believes that 40 per cent is "necessary for support to be demonstrated if collective bargaining is to be sustained".

Union leaders such as John Edmonds, General Secretary of the GMB general union, and the transport union's Bill Morris, had threatened Countrywide Alliance-style marches and emergency TUC

conferences if Mr Blair leaned too far towards the CBI's demands, while support for the TUC's arguments is strong among Labour backbenchers.

But, together with the white paper's other commitments — including new rights for all workers to be represented by a union official, for sacked strikers to claim unfair dismissal at an industrial tribunal, for the protection of homeworkers and the outlawing of "blacklisting" — the proposals now appear bound to win the TUC leadership's acquiescence.

Mr Blair has been calling union leaders into Downing Street one by one — he saw Mr Morris on Tuesday evening — to explain his new position. He also saw Adair Turner, CBI Director General, on the same day.

Privately, Government sources acknowledge the effectiveness of the TUC lobbying on the white paper — likely to be published next week — and the sensitivity of the issue among Labour MPs. "These changes show that Tony Blair has listened equally to both sides, but the TUC has been a lot more professional than we've seen before," one minister said.

Letters, page 8

Scalded children sue McDonald's

David Ward

UP TO 20 customers, most of them children, McDonald's hamburger chain, claiming they were scalded by piping-hot tea or coffee served in the company's restaurants.

Seven solicitors met in Manchester yesterday to share information and co-ordinate claims for damages on behalf of clients who have received burns of up to 15 per cent on the chest, back, lap and arms after spills.

"The children are going to be scarred physically for life and potentially psychologically as well," said Adrienne de Vos of the Manchester solicitors, Slater, Heales, which represents two children.

"The injuries vary from relatively minor to very nasty burns. My clients have been so badly burned that they have had skin grafts and need to wear body stockings ... day and night."

She said families were devastated by the injuries to their children and were seeking damages. No writs have yet been issued.

"We appreciate that McDonald's is a very big company but the courts will not be influenced by that," added



Ms de Vos. "We believe it's a valid issue for the courts to address, bearing in mind the severity of some of the injuries. We hope they will hold McDonald's liable so the children can be compensated."

The company was successfully sued in the US in 1994, when a jury awarded 81-year-old Stella Liebeck \$2.7 million (\$1.8 million) in punitive damages and \$160,000 (\$100,000) in compensation after she spilled a 49 cent (30p) cup of coffee in a McDonald's in New Mexico. She was scalded on her groin, thighs and buttocks. The punitive award was later reduced to \$490,000 (£300,000).

"Evidence was produced at that trial of more than 700 burns cases that McDonald's was aware of in the US over the previous 10 years," said Ms de Vos.

A McDonald's spokeswoman said last night: "The safety of our customers is a priority for us. But we do not have a lot of information on these cases and there have been no contacts from any law firm."

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Sketch

It wasn't us and if it was, it was right



Simon Hoggart

MR NICK Hawkins (C, Surrey Heath) wanted to know why the Prime Minister had spent an hour last week claiming that Wim Duisenberg was so desperate to leave his job as head of the new European Central Bank that he wanted to renounce it even before his appointment.

Mr Hawkins pronounced the name "Dwee-zen-berg". Why, he inquired, had Mr Dwee-zen-berg later said that he hoped to stay in the job for the full eight years, provided he kept his health?

Mr Blair kicked into exasperated schoolmaster mode. "Let me settle one thing, once and for all," he said impatiently. "I am told it is 'Dwee-zen-berg'."

It was the last thing he was able to settle once and for all through the whole of Prime Minister's Questions. They were awful, for him at least. I half expected all the Labour backbench bleepers to go off and instruct: "You may now commit suicide."

First of all Mr Blair suffered the humiliation of being knocked all over the place by William Hague. (Mr Hague is a highly successful parliamentary performer. Often he makes Mr Blair look shifty, evasive and petulant. His backbenchers cheer up no end when he is on form. Yet the country is unimpressed. Can anyone seriously imagine Prime Minister Hague?)

The Tory leader said the Foreign Office was being run by a Dad's Army Outfit, with Robin Cook combining "the pomposity of Captain Mainwaring, the incompetence of Private Pike, and the calm of Corporal Jones".

(Actually you can roll out this kind of abuse forever, since sitcom characters are written to be peculiar. Try it: yourself. Are You Being Served? will do. "Mr Hague combines the diffident charm

of Captain Peacock, the masculinity of Mr Humphries, and the youthful vigour of Young Mister Grace.")

Then Mr Blair was sent to the curbs by — of all people — Gerald Howarth, the Tory MP for Aldershot, who is thought, even by his colleagues, to be a few synapses short of a brain.

"How can the Prime Minister take credit for success in Sierra Leone when he claims he did nothing to bring it about?" Mr Howarth asked. It was an excellent question, going to the heart of the Government's defence: we did nothing wrong, and if we did, it was for the right reasons.

Mr Blair looked shocked. He had not claimed that Britain had done nothing, or so he claimed. We had sent a ship, HMS Cornwall (most military textbooks suggest warships are of only marginal use in jungle fighting).

We had sent money for food and hospitals. (How many military juntas have been driven to defeat by the arrival of funds for school textbooks? As Corporal Jones would say, they don't like Fowler's Modern English Usage up 'em.)

There was a difference between helping properly and helping improperly — "I know they don't understand the difference, but we do."

Mr Blair maintains there is a crucial difference between arms-for-Sierra Leone and arms-for-Iraq. And he is right. Democrats in Freetown, good buddies in Baghdad, bad. But there is also a crucial similarity: in both cases, government blaming the opposition for the trouble they find themselves in, and it just won't do.

Never will blaming the press. The Sierra Leone scandal had been "rolling around the news schedules... the fact that they decide something is of huge importance doesn't mean that it is". We all heard the echo of his new friend, John Major. Finally David "Ripper" Prior (he has confessed to being a youthful pothead) asked if he believed that our relations with India, the Middle East and West Africa had been handled by the Foreign Secretary "with great distinction".

It was a brilliant turn. There is only one permitted answer — "Yes" — which Mr Blair duly gave, and it brought the House down.

First night

Nice songs, pity about the book

Michael Billington

Rent

Shaftesbury Theatre

RENT is overdue. More than two years after its New York premiere — and the death of its creator, Jonathan Larson — it finally makes it to London. Once you strip away the hype and hysteria, you find a genuinely enjoyable anthem to modern youth: a touch sentimental and self-admiring but full of melodic invention.

The weakest part of the show is its book. Everyone knows it transposes Puccini's *La Bohème* to New York's Lower East Side but, as a story, it hardly adds up. Songwriter Roger is seduced by Mimi: a showbiz addict, HIV-positive drug addict. Teacher and vagabond composer Tom Collins likewise falls for deeply caring drag queen, Angel. Meanwhile aspiring film-maker Mark, whose lover has deserted him for a lesbian partner, not only tapes the lives of these bohemian Bohemians but also the attempt by an old friend to evict them from their apartment block.

Fortunately the programme provides a plot synopsis and even a picture guide to who's in love with who. Even so, I found it hard to work out whether the artists had really been evicted, why Mimi kept shuttling between her old and new lovers and, at the last, how she managed to come back from seeming death in time for the final chorus.

But, if Larson was a lazy librettist, he was a genuinely talented composer and, as far as one can hear, a good lyricist. The most rousing number, "The Music of the Heart" (he has confessed to being a youthful pothead) asked if he believed that our relations with India, the Middle East and West Africa had been handled by the Foreign Secretary "with great distinction".

There is no denying Larson's extraordinary musical talent. Michael Greif's production also preserves a sense of rough, workshop spontaneity miles removed from the usual heartless showbiz slickness. The set is not much more than a brick wall and a junk mountain that looks like a grounded Alexander Calder mobile.

The cast is engaging: most especially Anthony Rapp as the detached Mark, Wilson Jermaine Heredia and Jesse L. Martin as, respectively, the drag queen and his adoring lover, and Krysten Cummings as the rump-flaunting Mimi. I would be wary of doling out the superlatives. I don't believe there was ever a first-rate musical that didn't have a good book. But *Rent* undeniably has musical talent and high energy and, even if it doesn't move one like its source, is worth collecting.

This review appeared in later editions yesterday.

Clinton imposes sanctions as defiant India conducts more tests and Islamabad attacks 'provocation'

Plea for Pakistani restraint

San Black in London, M. R. Marayan in New Delhi and Ian Traynor in Potsdam

PAKISTAN was under intense international pressure last night not to follow India by carrying out its own nuclear tests after President Bill Clinton swiftly announced punitive sanctions against New Delhi.

Islamabad angrily accused India of having "gone berserk" after it defied condemnation of three tests on Monday to carry out two more underground blasts yesterday. It called them "reckless and highly provocative actions that... had fundamentally altered the strategic situation in South Asia".

Andous Western governments scrambled to prevent further escalation in what has suddenly become the world's most volatile region.

President Clinton telephoned Pakistan's prime minister Nawaz Sharif from Germany after signing the documents imposing sanctions because of "India's terrible mistakes", while his defence and nuclear chiefs met behind closed doors.

But Mr Sharif said Pakistan had to give priority to its own security needs and to take "appropriate measures". With Western intelligence officials warning that Pakistan is able to conduct its own test at once, it is a race against time to disprove it.

The message is that Pakistan has quite a lot to gain from restraint, and quite a lot to lose if it doesn't use it," said one worried diplomat.

Yesterday's detonation of a "sub-kiloton" device, testing tactical nuclear weapons for battlefield use, brought a charge from Islamabad that this was "particularly provocative".

Amid the furore there was speculation that India might now sign up to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) to head off further criticism. But it would have to be quick to avoid the measures imposed under a United States non-proliferation law, ending aid and credit to India.



Demonstrators support the Indian prime minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, outside his New Delhi residence yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: SUNIL MALHOTRA

Eight summit in Birmingham tomorrow. In London Tony Blair backed Mr Clinton, telling the Commons: "It is deeply disturbing that these nuclear tests have been carried out."

But his spokesman said Britain would not impose sanctions, while Russia, a close Indian ally and at odds with the US on Iraq, said it would not follow Washington.

France, which faced outrage over its own Pacific tests before signing the CTBT, said the tests "beyond the pale of international behaviour".

But in New Delhi the mood was defiant, with one senior official saying the tests had corrected an "asymmetry" in the region, a line consistent with New Delhi's resentment that the CTBT and the 1970

Non-Proliferation Treaty legitimise the possession of nuclear weapons by the five big powers but deny others the right to acquire them.

India said the five tests completed its planned series of experimental blasts. Dozens of young supporters of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) pierced their finger tips and affixed their signatures in

blood in support of the tests. Others showered flower petals on the BJP prime minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Britain's Foreign Office minister, Derek Fatchett, told the Indian High Commissioner Britain was "deeply disturbed by the implications of the tests for peace and stability in south Asia".

New arms race, page 6

Dome plan to reduce Third World debt

Powerful support for millennium bonds scheme to raise £750m

Even MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

THE Government is holding behind-the-scenes discussions with leading figures from banking, the churches and the arts to make the Millennium Dome the centrepiece of an ambitious multi-million pound project to reduce Third World debt.

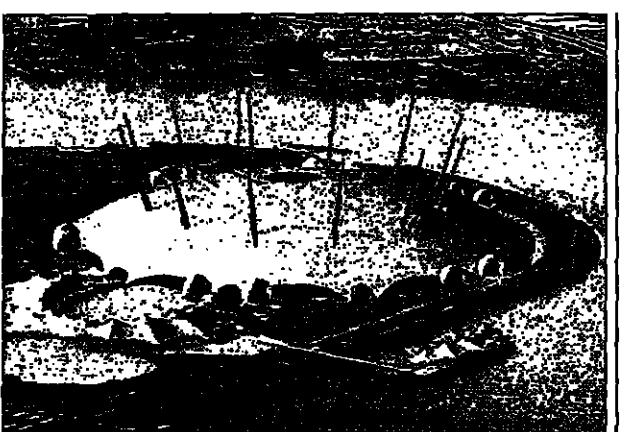
The plan is to launch millennium bonds at the dome on January 2, 2000, 24 hours after it is officially opened. The £1, 25 and £100 bonds will be offered to the public and companies to raise at least £750 million to help with debt cancellation. The project will end at the dome on December 31, 2000 when the bonds will be burnt on a giant bonfire.

The scheme, called the Bondfire Project, is the biggest effort yet to change the

image of the dome, blunting criticism of it as a vacuous Disneyland exercise and instead linking it with a moral crusade. A Mori poll showed overwhelming support for marking the millennium through debt relief rather than building the dome.

The minister responsible for the dome, Peter Mandelson, is believed to support the scheme and to have sent it to other ministers for consideration. The International Development Secretary, Clare Short, is also thought to back it, though with some reservations about how the money will be spent.

The Treasury, which is expected to give its verdict on the plan in the next week, has sent out mixed signals. The initial reaction was to dismiss it as a stunt. But a source involved in lobbying the Treasury was optimistic the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, will



The Millennium Dome, where the bonds would be launched

give his backing. "It is sensitive at the moment. It is just about to crystallise. But it will go ahead with or without government backing."

The proposal has powerful supporters, particularly Ken Costa, vice-chairman of merchant bankers Warburg Dillon Read and an evangelist Christian. Others are Sir

Nicholas Eyre, the former National Theatre director who is carrying out a government review into the arts, and Martin Lambie-Nairn, a leading light in television branding who drew up the logos for the BBC and Channel 4.

The head of the Millennium Commission, Jenny Page, who is responsible for distrib-

uting Lottery money to the dome, also backs the scheme. Supporters said the money raised would complement the efforts of Mr Brown, who at the weekend G8 summit in Birmingham will try to persuade Japan, Germany and others to sign up for a debt reduction scheme.

The dome would be used to sell and promote the bonds, which would also be available in supermarkets, schools and churches. The bonds would be burnt at a statue to be built at Meridian Point, on the international dateline.

Those directly involved in the scheme refused to comment yesterday for fear of jeopardising it, but Liberal Democrat MP Simon Hughes, who has been party to the discussions, said: "The dome is still controversial and still needs the big idea that Britain should be having for the millennium. Here is a chance to use the dome for something that is the most idealistic and practical of all the ideas put on the table for the millennium."

Mr Hughes asked Tony

Blair at Prime Minister's Question Time yesterday about linking the dome and the debt campaign but Mr Blair skirted round it.

Andrew Simms, a Christian Aid spokesman, said if the bond scheme was taken up, there would be reason to celebrate the millennium and "all will be forgiven on the dome".

The millennium bond idea came from Baptist minister Steve Chalke, who founded the London-based charity, Oasis, which runs projects for the homeless in London as well as development projects in Brazil, India and Africa.

One reservation expressed by rival aid agencies is about how the money raised will be spent.

There are strong objections to the money going directly to the creditors, whether banks or governments. But the campaigners said this was one issue under discussion and there were ways round it.

A question of political will, page 5

From Jakarta's slums, a seething anger takes grip

continued from page 1

an accusation now being voiced across the country: "Suharto and the Armed Forces are Murderers".

Amien Rais, the leader of a 28 million-strong Islamic movement called Muhammadiyah, told students massed for a memorial ceremony to step up their three-month-long protest campaign.

"We are going to continue until reforms are completed. We must be braver. We must take courage from this. We must fight for the people not our own interests. We have to be unified so we can be victorious." Applause and cheers cascaded through his

audience as he called on the government to "acknowledge its sin and evil deeds and change its ways".

Megawati Soekarnoputri, the daughter of the country's founding president, Sukarno, also urged on the students. Her father was overthrown by Mr Suharto in the 1966 student and military revolt, Indonesia's only post-independence change of leadership.

The matronly and reluctant opposition leader broke weeks of silence to rally the protesters and urge calm on the military: "We ask you [in the armed forces] to realise what you are doing. If you use force, you use it against your own people."

The crowd cheered and shouted "Suharto must step down" and "Freedom".

The city swirled with rumours of an imminent purge in the military. General Wiranto, commander of the armed forces, is reportedly in trouble. Seen as a relative liberal, he has ordered an investigation of Tuesday's killings at Trisakti university. His main rival is Mr Suharto's son-in-law, Prabowo Subianto, who heads the elite strategic command, Kostrad.

Conspiracy theories have taken flight, with many now believing university bloodshed was a provocation by hardline sections of the military rather than a tragic miscalculation by exhausted and ill-trained riot forces.

Standing over Mr Hartanto's freshly dug grave, a lecturer from the University of Indonesia, Mohammad Eljah pointed to the shrouded body and said: "This is the symbol of our democracy, of the people's sovereignty. It has been killed by the military... What happened was not by accident but by command."

Mr Suharto, the world's longest-serving ruler after Fidel Castro, has vowed to complete his seventh five-year term, which began in March. Calls for his departure, though coloured even the funeral ceremony. A relative of one of the buried undergradu-

ates thanked the crowd for sharing his family's grief and asked through a bullhorn: "How can we repay you?" A mourner shouted back: "With the message more clearly: 'With the life of Suharto'."

The tombstones of neighbouring graves seemed to taunt the death of Mr Hartanto so soon after he turned just 21. He now shares a plot with two men: one was 70 when he died, the other was 69. Dimas, the technical university undergraduate, pondered the injustice.

"I'm going to have my 21st birthday in two days," he said. "I hope I make it." Mr Suharto turns 77 next month.



President Suharto... seen chuckling on state television

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سكاي ان الامم

stringent rule

New York Mayor Giuliani

Coked-up

Dutroux has been rotten. Y after his c and police seemingly cover

More stringent rules for Big Apple taxis



New York cabbies down ignition keys as Mayor Giuliani takes on the yellow fleet

Joanna Coles in New York

"THIS is not the United States of America," cried Samer Turek, explaining why he was not on strike, as we hurried down West End Avenue past a dozen pedestrians forlornly waving their arms in the hope of attracting a cab.

"That Mayor Giuliani, I tell you, he's a dictator," Mr Turek pumped the accelerator and we just beat the lights

on 57th Street, cutting past Carnegie Hall and rounding 7th Avenue, where traffic was much faster than usual.

"I tell you I'm getting out. I used to make money driving a cab. Not any more, not since Giuliani."

It was not, by any stretch of the imagination, an all-out strike by New York's cab drivers yesterday. But the city was noticeably quieter as several thousand drivers laid down their ignition keys in protest at Mayor Rudy Giuliani's 17-point plan to reform the city's taxi service.

In any other city, trying to improve the standards of cabs might be welcomed. But this is New York, where 20,000 odd cabbies are furious at the prospect of stricter controls, including drug testing for new drivers.

"Drug testing, why should I?" roared Mr Turek, "not unless they test the cops too! They should test everybody, not just drivers."

But surely he didn't approve of cabbies driving under the influence? "What about the Constitution?" he yelled, bearing down on 44th

Street as if in pursuit of Stirling Moss.

If the plan is ratified in a fortnight, new drivers will be required to take a mandatory driving test and spend the first year of the job on probation. Meanwhile, new penalties are being introduced, including driver-fines for passengers smoking in cabs and a ban on certain drop-off points.

"A passenger gets in and he's smoking, what do I tell him?" grumbled Mr Turek. "What if he takes his last drag and throws the butt out of the

window and the cops see? I tell you, this job is very stressful, very stressful indeed."

As it was, too, for the 22,000 passengers a day who take cabs from La Guardia and J.F. Kennedy airports and were yesterday advised to organise their own transport into the city.

As New York cab drivers are not unionised, there was surprise at how many stayed off work. Minicab and limousine companies reported excellent business. "It's very good for us. I hope they go on strike for the whole month,"

grumbled Jack Erlich, of Chelsea Executive Service.

Among the new penalties, drivers will suffer points on their licence for rudeness and for harassing passengers. The number of points allowed before a driver is banned will be reduced.

Because of the expense — a new cab costs about \$125,000 (\$75,000) — few drivers own their vehicle. Often new immigrants from Haiti or the Indian subcontinent, with few resources, little driving experience and even less English, they lease a car for a certain

number of hours a day. An average rent is about \$120 (\$72) for a nine-hour shift, with another \$80 for petrol. On a good day, a driver would look to clear \$120 profit.

Taxi-owners with permission to rent out the cars also face higher insurance liabilities.

More protests are planned for May 21, when thousands of cabbies say they will line the streets bumper to bumper to cause traffic chaos and grind the city to a stop.

It was too early to tell last night whether the strike had had any effect on either the public or the mayor.

"This is a strike for the purpose of being able to drive recklessly and have nothing done about it," snapped Mr Giuliani, unmoved by the queues into the Subway station at Times Square.

"After 12 years I'm going back home," Mr Turek said. "The traffic's gotten worse and so's the money. In America you come to make money. I worked hard and now I'm going back to Egypt. I tell you, driving a cab in New York for 12 years is enough for anybody."



Black cab drivers' New York brethren face penalties for rudeness PHOTOGRAPH BY GRAHAM TURNER

Manhattan to Morden

NEW YORK

How much do you earn? About \$100 (\$62) per nine-hour shift.

How long does the knowledge take? Two weeks.

What club do you support? Yankees.

Cost of cab: \$125,000 (\$75,000) — most drivers rent shifts.

How many miles do you drive a day? Between 100 and 160 a day, depending on traffic.

Average fare? \$6 (\$3.70)

LONDON

How much do you earn? About £30,000 a year.

How long does it take to learn the knowledge? Two to three years of riding a moped with a clipboard.

What club do you support? Arsenal.

What's the cost of the cab? You wouldn't Adam and Eve it. The best part of a year's wages.

How many miles do you do a day? Are you serious? Traffic moves at 18mph and you can only sit on your backside for eight hours tops.

What's your average fare? £4.50 but I'll take a fiver.

Coked-up mice hold addiction clue

Tim Radford Science Editor

ADDICTION could be an accident of biology, according to researchers in the US, who have discovered that mice bred without a particular piece of brain machinery were more likely to dose themselves with cocaine.

Some of the mice lacked one of the serotonin receptors in the brain. Serotonin, with another protein called dopamine, is an important part of the brain's "pleasure system". All the mice were trained to "shoot-up" with cocaine by pressing a lever, each press resulting in one injection.

Once the mice were trained, the researchers gradually increased the number of presses required for drug delivery.

The "knockout" mice — those missing the gene that makes the receptor — were much more willing to get their fix of cocaine, pressing the lever frequently. On average, they received twice as many injections as the mice which had the gene.

Serotonin blocks the processes of its partner neurotransmitter dopamine, which is linked with the euphoria and addictive power of cocaine — and other aspects of motivation and satisfaction.

So the scientists — led by Rene Hen from the Centre for

Neurobiology and Behaviour at Columbia University, New York — think their discovery could begin to throw light on why some people are addicted more easily than others. The knockout mice, for instance, had been found in other experiments to have a greater thirst for alcohol.

But although humans and mice have remarkably similar biologies, researchers have repeatedly warned that what works for rodents may not work for humans.

"The psychology of addiction is very complex. It's not just nature, it's nurture too," said Iain Brown, a psychologist at the University of Glasgow.



Dutroux has exposed the awful truth that the state is rotten. Three weeks after his escape, two years after his crimes first exposed failures in its justice and policing system, politicians remain paralysed, seemingly incapable of effecting change.

G2 cover story

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John Ezard on a row over Japanese emperor's visit and, below, anger of old soldiers

Philip denies Akihito unease

THE Duke of Edinburgh categorically denied yesterday that he has criticised a decision for the Queen to bestow a Garter ribbon on Emperor Akihito of Japan.

The award — the highest order of chivalry — was attacked by an angry meeting of former wartime internees as "an order too far". Buckingham Palace said the duke had expressed no views privately or publicly. But last night reports persisted that he has voiced unease over aspects of the emperor's state visit later this month, even though it is keenly supported by the Blair government.

As a young naval officer, the duke, who is patron of the Burma Star Association, saw direct evidence of Japanese atrocities when his ship helped to bring home liberated prisoners of war while he was on Far East patrol in 1945.

He is understood to have talked critically of the visit during a meeting within the past 10 days. This claim was made yesterday despite the palace's denial of a report in the Times that he was "deeply uneasy and unhappy about the whole thing". The report was attributed to a Whitehall source.

A palace statement said: "He is well aware of the painful memories which the war caused to people, both from his own wartime experiences and from meeting veterans and ex-prisoners of war over the years since. For very many years, Prince Philip has worked for reconciliation and for a greater understanding between the two countries."

The palace is understood to feel under double pressure — from the British government

and from the Japanese — who have pressed for Akihito to be accorded every honour of protocol as a signal of his acceptance by Britain 53 years after the Japanese surrender.

During his three-day visit he will not only receive the Garter on May 26, but have tea with the Queen Mother and be given banquets or welcomed by the lord mayors of Westminster and the City of London. He will also be Tony Blair's lunch guest at Downing Street.

Downing Street enthusiasm for the visit was emphasised by a government spokesman. He said Akihito would be the fourth successive emperor to receive the award. The emperor's father, Hirohito, was stripped of the Garter during the war but reinvested amid protests by camp victims in 1971.

Mr Blair's spokesman said: "While people will be free to demonstrate, we do hope that it will be done in a way that is as dignified as possible. We should not blind ourselves to the need to — and the benefits of — improving relations between Britain and Japan."

But Martyn Day, a solicitor pressing compensation claims by British camp victims and civilian internees, said: "As the case of Diana showed, the Queen needs to be in touch with the British people. The people don't usually give a damn about protocol. But when you give the Japanese emperor the highest order of chivalry you misjudge the British nation."

Last night a London meeting of the Association of British Civilian Internees Far East Region voted unanimously to demand a meeting with Tony Blair and to demonstrate during all 15 of Akihito's official functions.



Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko in Japan on Tuesday, talking about their visit to Britain, and, below, the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh during last year's Order of the Garter ceremony. PHOTOGRAPHS: KOJI SASAHARA (above) and JOHN STILLWELL.



News in brief

Amicable end to Best dispute

GEORGE Best agreed yesterday to leave his London home after a legal row was settled out of court. Under the agreement after a three-day legal battle, the former Manchester United star will move out of the two-bedroom flat in Chelsea, south-west London.

Clydesdale Bank was seeking possession of the property after an allegation that the mortgage had not been paid for three years. It insisted it was owed more than £70,000 in arrears. Mr Best was in dispute with his former agent, William McMurdo, over who controls George Best Management Ltd. The company — which owns the flat — was formed to handle Mr Best's business affairs. But the former friends managed to come to an amicable agreement at the end of the legal dispute at Central London county court.

Outside the court Mr Best said he was pleased with the settlement. A joint statement issued by him and Mr McMurdo after the settlement read: "Mr Best has agreed to vacate the company flat. Bill McMurdo has agreed to provide George with financial assistance to enable him to acquire another home."

Erection pill 'threat to eyes'

VIAGRA, the new wonder drug for impotence, could damage the eyesight of men who get too carried away with it, experts have warned. The erection pill is known to have a side effect that causes "blue vision", but some doctors fear Viagra, if taken in sufficient doses, could damage the retina.

Viagra works by inhibiting an enzyme called phosphodiesterase, which allows more blood to flow into the penis. A similar enzyme exists in the cone cells responsible for colour vision in the retina. It is the effect on this enzyme that leads to a perception of the colour blue, and which is concerning eye specialists, New Scientist reported yesterday.

Pfizer, the drug company which produces Viagra, said rigorous tests at doses well above the recommended level had shown no clinically significant short-term or long-term effect on vision.

Smog warning

THE first smog of the summer is forecast for the weekend, with asthmatics and vulnerable people urged to stay indoors. High ozone levels, caused by the action of sunlight on pollution, mainly from car exhausts, are expected to affect England and Wales and most of western Europe.

The Department of the Environment is urging drivers not to make unnecessary journeys and turn car engines off when stationary. During air pollution death rates rise, particularly among those with heart or lung complaints. Taking vigorous outdoor exercise like jogging, even for healthy adults, is likely to lead to discomfort. — Paul Brown

£400 cost of cigarette

A FLIMMER aged 24 was fined £350 yesterday and ordered to pay £50 costs after admitting lighting a cigarette in the toilet of an aircraft on a non-smoking flight from Africa to Britain. Australian-born Scott Stevens had two drags of his cigarette before a smoke alarm was set off on the Britannia flight from the Kenyan port of Mombasa to Gatwick on March 11, magistrates at Crawley, West Sussex, were told.

Scott had used paper towels and toilet paper to cover the smoke detector in the toilets, but the paper fell away soon after he lit up. Mark Bishop, prosecuting, said flight crew members went to the toilets after the alarm was activated and escorted Stevens back to his seat for the rest of the flight. He was arrested when the plane landed at Gatwick.

Dead woman's child missing

POLICE yesterday launched a nationwide hunt for an 18-month-old boy after his mother was found strangled in their home in Penzance, Cornwall. Georgina McCarthy, an Israeli national, was discovered lying on the floor of her house after police were called to the property by a neighbour. Officers said they were urgently seeking to locate Ms McCarthy's young son, Adam Russell, and the boy's natural father, Paul Russell, aged 38. Superintendent Chris Boardman, who is leading the investigation, said there was nothing to suggest the child had come to any harm but in view of his age there was concern for his well-being. — Geoffrey Gibbs

Songwriter's windfall

A SONGWRITER who gave up the music business more than 20 years ago is in line for a windfall after one of his songs, *Smoky*, was plucked from obscurity by Madonna to top the charts. David Curtis, aged 54, is hoping to capitalise on the interest in the track by relaunching his musical career.

The song was originally an obscure track on the album *Curtis Muldoon* by his band of the same name 28 years ago, but it has been updated by Madonna with a new verse and a new beat to become *Ray of Light*, now at number two in the charts.

Mr Curtis, who lives in London, gave up the business after becoming disillusioned when his partner Clive Muldoon choked to death at the age of 22.

Assault on salt

UP TO 40,000 lives could be saved every year if food manufacturers would reduce the high levels of salt in their products, a conference at the Royal Society of Medicine, London, was told yesterday. Nutritionists and doctors at the conference, organised by the food science consultants Verner Wheelock Associates, were told that the scientific evidence strongly indicated a link with high blood pressure, the main cause of stroke.

Blood pressure increases with age, but only in populations with high levels of salt in their diet, says a report published at the conference by Verner Wheelock and Ann Robb — All You've Ever Wanted To Know About Salt. But We're Afraid to Ask. Graham MacGregor, professor of cardiovascular medicine at St George's hospital medical school in London, and founder of the pressure group The Consensus Action On Salt And Hypertension told the conference: "The message is simple — we all in the UK eat far too much salt a day, about 9 to 10 grams."

Campaigners say food should be labelled with the salt content, not just the sodium content, which is not understood by many consumers. — Sarah Basley. *Leader comment, page 21*

Ex-POWs plan Akihito insult in compensation quest

DOWN The Mall towards Buckingham Palace rides Emperor Akihito of Japan — son of the wartime emperor Hirohito — on his way to the final reconciliation, the crowning honour.

In the crowd, in front of international TV cameras, a commotion begins among a group of old men dressed in blood-red. As the emperor's gilded coach passes, they turn their backs on him and start to whistle or sing.

Hirohito, he only had one ball.

Goering, had two but very small.

Himmler had something smaller.

But poor Akihito has no balls at all.

Or words to that effect. For Blairites eager to "close the door on history", it is the nightmare scenario — a profane cry of defiance and disgust born out of suffering from the last, disregarded survivors of 50,000 British prisoners of war, many of whom were horrifically mistreated by Japanese soldiers almost 60 years ago.

The outbreak, to the tune of the second world war song *Colonel Bogey*, is likely to occur when Akihito's four-day state visit begins on May 26. Earlier, the plan was for

"an open show of silent contempt".

Veterans had decided against using the song because it featured in *Bridge on the River Kwai*, a film many of them despise.

But that decision was before Tony Blair's government dropped their case for compensation of £14,000 each from Japan. Ministers abandoned them despite a disclosure that the claim was meant to be kept open after the 1981 peace treaty between Britain and Japan. The treaty paid camp victims £71 each.

"It stuck in my craw to use Colonel Bogey," Arthur Titherington, chairman of the 9,500-member Japanese Labour Camp Survivors' Association, said, "but the way our members feel now, some of them want to get terribly militant. If that's what they want, then we should bloody go ahead and do it." Several weeks ago their hopes of compensation were riding high after official papers were found proving that in 1955, four years after the peace treaty, the Treasury secretly ruled that Britain should retain its legal freedom to claim higher compensation because Japan had paid interned Swiss and Burmese nationals up to £40,000

Finally, as you say, no publicity should be given to the decision, nor should anything be said to the Japanese, since we retain our freedom to use this legal entitlement to claim on Japan, though we are not asserting it, as a bargaining counter in negotiations of other claims against Japan.

The 1955 Treasury letter about compensation (above) containing the crucial 'we retain our freedom' sentence



'Every week they delay compensation they save money, because one of us dies'

— Arthur Titherington (left)

each. At the time a Foreign Office document argued that Britain should not damage the war-torn Japanese economy by exploiting these payments to reopen a clause in the peace treaty.

The Treasury later endorsed this but said Britain retained the option to claim more money. Both departments kept the decisions secret to avoid a furor among British veterans eager for the money.

The documents are regarded as undermining declarations during the 1990s by the Major and Blair governments that the compensation issue was closed by the 1961 treaty.

They were spotted in the Public Record Office by a postgraduate researcher who tipped Keith Martin, chairman of the 1,700-member Association of British Civilian Internees Far East.

They are also on file at the FO, where they are listed on an electronic index available to every civil servant, yet they had remained unread by officials advising both Major and Blair administrations.

The FO junior minister, Derek Fatchett, admitted he had been "unaware of them" when he saw Mr Martin, aged 70, and Mr Titherington, 76, to brace them for the government announcement dropping their case.

Mr Martin said: "He gave me the feeling that it was a combination of a cock-up and a basic lack of interest in our cause."

Next day Mr Fatchett's announcement stuck to the earlier government line: "The preliminary legal advice is that it is impossible for us to reopen that treaty," he said. Virtually every MP who spoke in the debate was

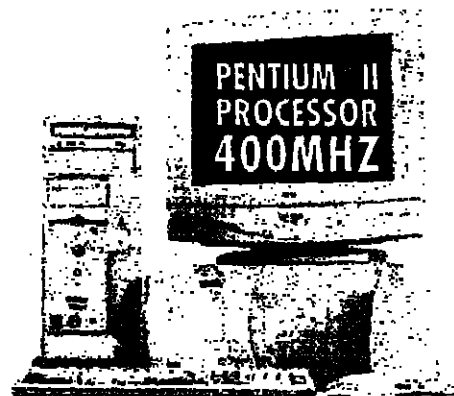
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The Guardian Thursday May 14 1998

THE NEW SLAVERY 5

Push for the West to grasp importance of deep, immediate debt relief for very poorest nations

A question of political will

Larry Elliott and Charlotte Denny

MOST children earn in school that Edward III was a bell-cose king who launched the Hundred Years War and knocked lumps off the French at Crécy and Poitiers. What is seldom taught is that he was the first sovereign to face a debt crisis.

As now, wars in the 14th century were expensive. Edward borrowed heavily from the Florentine banks to pay for his trusty longbowmen and got deeper and deeper into debt. When the money-men called in their loans, Edward had a simple solution: he refused to pay.

Nor is this the only case of sovereign borrowers showing their creditors the door. In the early 19th century, the states of Louisiana and Mississippi refused to repay debts to Britain. Hitler refused to pay Germany's creditors in the 1930s.

As such, any list of options for the heavily indebted countries has to include complete debt repudiation. Unfortunately, however, there is one crucial difference between great bankrupt states of the past and the impoverished countries of sub-Saharan Africa today. The former wielded political and military clout but the debtors of the late 20th century do not.

There is a crying need for poor countries to spend more on education

Bank and the Paris club group of creditor nations. Blurring worked for Mexico in the 1980s, but it was a special case. Mexico has a long land border with its superpower neighbour, and Washington was petrified of a refugee exodus across the Rio Grande.

Sub-Saharan Africa has no neighbouring superpower and no real strategic importance. Its bluff would almost certainly be called.

As some campaigners have pointed out, there is a strange disparity here. Many poor countries have a gross domestic product rather less than the annual turnover of multinational companies. But

whereas Coca-Cola or Disney could file for bankruptcy if they hit hard times, Tanzania and Niger could not. The G8 will this weekend look at ways of improving the global financial architecture, some aid agencies believe they should start by looking at a nation-state version of the US Chapter 11 legislation, which protects a debtor company from its creditors while it tries to reorganise itself.

But that is for the future. In the here and now, debt repudiation is not the answer, and nor is the free market solution — voiced by some laissez-faire economists and right-wing politicians in the US — that the poorest nations can simply work their way out of trouble, paying off their debts by strong export growth. This is the equivalent of suggesting that slaves in the Deep South could win emancipation by working harder on the cotton plantations.

Germany's recovery after the second world war was not a freak of nature. It was underpinned by the generosity of America's Marshall Aid and by debt forgiveness in 1953. Clearly, some lessons of the past have not been learned. Today, when success in the global economy is even more closely linked to the skill of the workforce, there is a crying need for poor countries to spend more on education and training.

One argument used by those opposed to deep debt relief is that the money saved

Options for change

□ Debt relief Not an option for the world's poor countries. This is the preserve of those with the political muscle to defy creditors.

□ Repay? The worst-affected countries show no signs of recovering sufficiently to be able to pay off creditors. Most are not even able to service loans. Unlike Latin America, Africa shows no signs of being able to grow its way out of debt.

□ Reduce debts under the World Bank programme? Only four of the 20 worst-affected countries have been given a date for when debts will be cut under the World Bank's HIPC programme. Only Uganda has actually received debt relief, though the other 16 will eventually follow.

would not be spent on medicines and textbooks but would be siphoned into the pockets of corrupt governments. But Africa has made significant progress towards reforming economic and political structures in the past two decades, the IMF and World Bank effectively run much of the continent, and there is no reason why the West cannot link cutting debts to increased and properly audited social spending. Finally, denying these countries relief on the

ground of past sins punishes their populations for the actions of their leaders.

□ Speeding up the World Bank programme? Britain has called for all eligible countries (20 in all) to be on the road to having their debts cut by 2000, and for three-quarters to have been given a definite date for action. For some this would mean bending the requirement that countries have to have spent three years on an IMF/World Bank economic reform programme. Britain hopes to win support for a fast-track HIPC at the G8 summit in Birmingham.

□ Is more generous debt relief an option? It has been done before. Germany had two-thirds of her war debts cut in 1953, so servicing them took just 5 per cent of her exports. Under HIPC, countries will still have to pay up to a fifth of export earnings in debt service. The key is political will.

up money for education and health rather than paying off creditors.

Graham Bird, professor of international economic studies at the University of Surrey, said: "If debtors are allowed to retain a larger part of the benefits from reform, they can be encouraged to pursue policies that will make debt sustainable."

On the other hand, he added: "The prognosis must be that without fairly aggressive debt policies African debt, which is already in many cases unsustainable, will continue to be unsustainable and may become progressively more so over the foreseeable future."

The more far-sighted Western politicians now accept the force of this argument. Britain, which has a good record on debt relief, is pushing hard for the West to grasp the importance of deep and immediate relief for the very poorest countries.

The Mauritius Mandate, drawn up in September 1997, proposed that the international community should make a commitment that all eligible poor countries should at least embark on the process of securing a sustainable exit from their debt problems by 2000.

But progress has been slow. The World Bank has been far less than on swift action than the International Monetary Fund. The Germans have been dragging their heels, and the Clinton administra-

tion, faced with a hostile Congress, is getting cold feet.

The contrast with the rapid response by the West to the peso crisis in Mexico and the 1997 meltdown in Asia could not be more stark. This is not a question of money — the IMF rustled up \$50 billion for Indonesia in double-quick time last year, whereas the whole of Africa owes just over \$300 billion — but a matter of political will.

Nor are there no alternatives to the agonisingly slow

Anger and moral outrage felt at the laggardly response of many

process. Oxfam International has produced a five-point strategy that would make the Highly Indebted Poorest Countries (HIPC) framework work for the poor. First, it would offer earlier debt relief, halving the waiting period from six to three years. Second, it would provide deeper debt reduction than on offer at present, by lowering the thresholds of when debt is deemed unsustainable.

Thirdly, Oxfam would like new measures adopted for determining debt sustainability, based on the sacrifices that have to be made on investment in the social sector. Fourthly, eligibility for HIPC

should be de-linked from compliance with IMF reform programmes, and finally, the question of conditionality should be put on the back so countries would get deeper and earlier debt relief if they pledged to use the savings on poverty reduction.

There is no reason why the West should not implement such a blueprint immediately. The approaching millennium has intensified calls for the richer countries to provide those deepest in debt with a fresh start for a new century. But it needs to be concerted action. Britain, under Conservative and Labour governments, has pushed hard for more generous debt relief and taken unilateral steps, cancelling \$1.2 billion of loans made under aid programmes. But writing off the rest would not help the countries concerned directly. It would merely reduce the amount other creditors have to pay to get the countries' debt levels down to a sustainable level.

The UN sums up well the anger and moral outrage felt by many at the laggardly response by many of the players. "Although poverty has been dramatically reduced in many parts of the world, a quarter of the world's people remain in severe poverty," it said in the human development index. "In a global economy of \$25 trillion, this is a scandal — reflecting shameful inequalities and inexcusable failures of national and international policy."

Swords and ploughshares

□ Richard Branson's wealth fell to \$1.6 billion last year, the same as the debt of Benin (W Africa).

□ Infant mortality in Zambia in 1970 was 106 per 1,000 live births. In 1996 it had worsened to 112 per 1,000. Since 1990 the country has paid a total of \$4.8 billion in debt service, about one and a half times its total economic output in one year.

□ US investment bank Goldman Sachs is valued at \$20 billion, which is \$100 million for each partner. The debt of South Africa is \$23 billion, which is \$550 for each South African.

□ In the developing world maternal mortality is still the leading cause of death among women of childbearing age, claiming 600,000 lives globally each year, with 30 times that number left disabled.

□ The world's most heavily indebted countries, by size of debt are: 1. Brazil \$179 billion 2. Mexico \$157 billion 3. Indonesia \$129 billion

□ The world's most heavily indebted countries, by debt as a percentage of national output are:

1. Sao Tome and Principe 647 per cent
2. Mozambique 432 per cent
3. Somalia 406 per cent

□ The staff budget of the IMF could provide a basic health care package for more than 14 million people in the poorest countries.

□ Britain's contribution to HIPC will be around \$2.5 billion — less than has been spent on National Lottery scratchcards and around one-fifth of Britain's annual cigarette bill.

□ Britain spends \$279 per person each year on health and \$355 on the military; Jamaica spends \$20 per person on health, \$7 on the military, and \$165 on debt service; Malawi spends \$2 per person on health, \$1 on the military, and \$26 on debt service. Neither Malawi nor Jamaica are eligible for relief under HIPC as their debts are not big enough.

□ Voting in the World Bank is based on financial contributions. The US has 15.29 per cent of votes, Britain 5 per cent, China 2.02 per cent, Brazil 1.63 per cent, India 3.14 per cent, South Africa 0.28 per cent, Libya 0.07 per cent, and Zimbabwe 0.10 per cent.

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Dom Helder Camara
Archbishop Emeritus, Olinda & Recife, Brazil

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Zambia sells off its 'red gold' for scrap

Illegal trading is rife in the African country most visibly crippled by its debt burden. Alex Duval Smith reports from Kitwe, in the Copperbelt

WHEN he grew up Gordon Chenda had no intention of slotting into the space predetermined for him at birth, in a pit-head queue in Zambia's Copperbelt. He wanted a managerial role so his father, who had worked at the smelter, supported him through his training with Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM).

But Mr Chenda's career as a section boss — better than being a blaster or a lasher but still an underground job in infernally hot conditions — did not last long.

"I worked at Mindola mine for five years, managing 50 men. The conditions were horrible and after about three years, I started fainting on the job, perhaps from the explosive fumes. I was laid off on September 18 1996," he said.

Now aged 28 and in effect unemployed, Mr Chenda is in the Copperbelt region of north-western Zambia. Mr Chenda has begun trading in sheets of freshly mined copper, at prices lower than European rag-and-bone men get for scrap. He receives 35,000 kwacha (\$14) per kilo.

"I have an arrangement with security guards at the

mine who help me get the stuff out. We sell it and, eventually, it leaves by truck for South Africa," he said. There a kilo of copper fetches \$30.

Illegal trading in copper is arguably now the most dynamic economic sector in this country of 10 million people.

Non-governmental organisations such as Cafod and Oxfam say that, of all African countries, Zambia is most visibly crippled by its debt burden — now \$7.2 billion (\$4.3 billion) and by the structural adjustment targets tied to World Bank cheques.

The United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) estimates that two-thirds of Zambians live in poverty, and there is no sign of improvement on the horizon.

The human consequences are clear. Literacy is declining because families need their children to work and cannot afford school fees. Life expectancy is down from 54.4 years in 1991 to 42.6 years in 1997. As a direct result of hospitals becoming more expensive, there are now 203 infant deaths per 1,000 births, compared to 125 in 1991. Almost uniquely in Africa, access to clean water is declining.

Modern, homogeneous and unoppressed Zambia was built

on copper, which long accounted for 25 per cent of GDP and 90 per cent of foreign earnings. Northern Rhodesia's "red gold" shaped Zambia's fortunes after independence from Britain in 1964.

President Kenneth Kaunda's face may have been on bank notes for 27 years, but state-owned ZCCM was, in effect, printing the money.

Income from the metal, and the byproduct cobalt, built schools and hospitals all over the country, and in the Copperbelt ZCCM provided cheap beer, free education, health and social services for the occupants of purpose-built miners' townships.

ZCCM money and facilities gave Kitwe one of Zambia's best football teams, the Nkana Red Devils, and the pride that went with it. Grey-haired men walked to church proudly wearing their burgundy ZCCM ties and gold-plated Seiko watches — rewards for 20 years' service.

But since the late 1970s the price of copper has fallen steadily. In the 1990s it has hit new lows because of the growing use of fibre-optic cables, and other factors. ZCCM has scaled down its activities, leading to lay-offs among the 45,000 people still working in the industry.

Spurred by donor countries, President Frederick Chiluba's government has engaged in a huge privatisation programme since it came to power in 1991. The sale of ZCCM was made a condition of the second tranche of a major World Bank loan.

At smaller mines sold off last year, workers have been

laid off. Retrenchment packages vary: the best offer continued medical, education and funeral assistance; the worst cancel all benefits, including monthly handouts of the staple mealie meal.

Mr Chenda was relatively lucky to lose his job in 1996, when ZCCM still had the infrastructure to give him "terminal benefits" of 4.5 million kwacha (about \$1,500). "They paid for me to go to the mining hospital in Kitwe where I was given two courses of antibiotics, a blood test and even a brain scan. They could not find anything wrong so I ended up going to an *n'ganga* (herbalist) who cured me. But the African doctor cost 2.1 million kwacha (\$800)."

His parents, Paul and Elina, live 15 miles outside Kitwe on 15 acres of land they bought with redundancy money in 1994. Paul Chenda, aged 53, worked at the smelter for 19 years before ending his career as a ZCCM township caretaker. He feels ZCCM was a good employer: "We have some cousins living on the farm with us. The father was a ZCCM sports supervisor. He groomed boys for the Red Devils and ZCCM provided jerseys, boots, balls and the stadium. How many other employers do that?"

But his son dismissed that view of the paternalistic employer. "The working conditions are appalling, made for animals. I was paid 220,000 kwacha (\$80) a month but I have heard that some of the white managers get \$12,000 (\$7,200) a month. The situation is only going to get worse with privatisation. Mines will close and more and more people will lose their jobs. Even for those who continue to work, there will be no free schools or hospitals."

Tet at the headquarters in Kitwe of the Mineworkers' Union of Zambia, Charles Muchimba, a spokesman, was enthusiastic about privatisation: "ZCCM has not reinvested in the mines and there is a consensus that without privatisation more and more Copperbelt mines would simply stop production."

Hope seems in great demand in Zambia. Opponents of President Chiluba accuse him and his ministers of skimming off the best privatisation deals for themselves. The international community has praised the pace of the sell-offs but has not scrutinised management standards.

Lucy Sichone, a human rights lawyer and one of few independent dissenters, warned: "There is a danger that debt relief will just go towards buying more Mercedes for the government and their cronies. What is needed is a thorough audit."

Gordon Chenda, seen (top centre) as a young boy among other family photographs and the family journal, lost his job in the mines when he fell ill

PHOTOGRAPH BY GREG MAFINOVICH

THE NEW SLAVERY

You can sign Jubilee 2000's online petition at <http://reports.guardian.co.uk/debt>. The website also gives details on how to help the campaign and how to join the human chain at Saturday's G8 summit in Birmingham. A full archive of the Guardian's debt relief coverage will be maintained on the site and there will be regular updates on the progress of the campaign until the millennium.

You can write directly to Jubilee 2000 at PO Box 10, London W10 7WY.

Only China can stop new arms race

ANALYSIS/Martin Woollacott examines the strategic implications for Asia of India's bid for superpower status by flexing its nuclear muscle

THE MOST critical military, political and economic changes in Asia since those that followed the Vietnam war could be coming to the region. As the economic crisis continues to weaken all Asian governments, the Indian nuclear tests put at risk what there is of a strategic balance. The possibility of major political change in Indonesia only adds to the uncertainty in a zone that has often seemed characterised by immobility.

The country to react with the greatest concern to the Indian tests is the United States, but China holds the key to the new strategic situation in Asia. The Indian nuclear tests are also a test of Chinese political maturity. Some believe China has passed one such test this year, in not reacting to the economic troubles in the region by attempts, by devaluation or other means, to undercut competitors in export markets. Whatever the truth of that, China is the only country able to stop the arms race between Pakistan and India leaping to a new level, and the only country that can persuade New Delhi to follow the Chinese example and sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

But, if it is to succeed, China will have greatly to modify policies it has been following for years. Those policies have offered military support, including nuclear and missile technology help, to countries in Western Asia, including Pakistan, Iran, and, previously, Iraq. The Chinese have thus contributed to developments that could produce useable nuclear weapons in the hands of several Muslim states. Pakistan and Iran, at least, have co-operated with each other on nuclear programmes and missile technology. The countries against which such weapons might be used are, in the first case, Israel and India.

What has undermined India's halfway-house policy of maintaining a nuclear "option" rather than having de-

clared nuclear weapons has been the largely Chinese-led development of Pakistani missiles. Another factor is psychological. The US has historically paid far less attention to India, a partly English-speaking democracy, than to China, an authoritarian state. Indians neither understand nor accept this and in an era in which the Indian elite is educated in America, rather than in Britain, it has become even more important. Nor has American policy towards India and Pakistan ever quite returned to an even keel since the "tilt" to Pakistan during the Bangladesh war.

During that conflict the dispatch of the USS Enterprise to the Bay of Bengal was seen by

It is almost certain to be impossible to prevent a Pakistan test series, but after that both countries may follow the "test-and-sign" strategy. The senior Pakistani nuclear scientist who said he and his team were now in the position of cooks in the kitchen waiting for the order reflected the reality. Pakistani pride, unfortunately, will demand tests. But weapons development in Pakistan is dependent to some extent on Chinese technical support and to an even greater extent on the general relationship with that country, which has at times of danger become a quest-alliance. China's influence with Pakistan, in other words, should be sufficient to produce a test-and-sign strategy in Islamabad, if it is matched in New Delhi.

More broadly, the now established traffic between China and the west Asian Muslim countries to which it gives military help has to end or at least be limited and become transparent. This is the key shift in Asian security that could head off a south Asian proliferation and arms race.

This would not be easy for China, nor is it uncomplicated, since the other main country concerned is Iran, with which Russia also has military technical relations. In addition, Beijing has to convince India it is ready to be accommodated on border questions. That means shifting from the Chinese position that the present line of actual control, which in most cases favours China, should be the basis of negotiations.

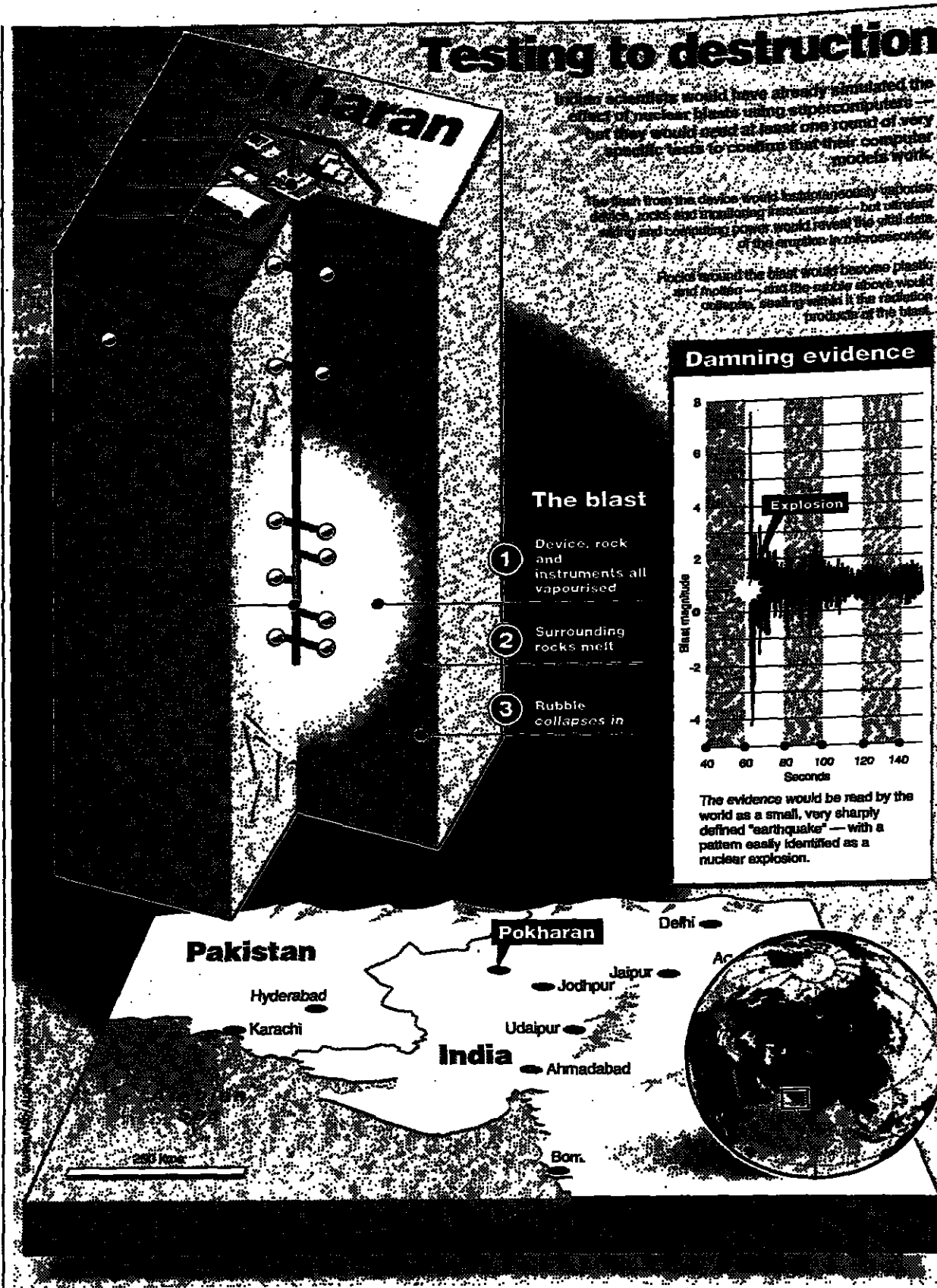
Ironically, American hopes that China will join the Missile Technology Control Regime, cutting out missile support to Pakistan and Iran, may have been one reason why India chose to test. Achieving the maximum level of technical nuclear proficiency before accepting controls, thus freeing the hierarchy of nuclear capacity at the moment most advantageous to a particular country or group of countries, is an old story in arms control.

It certainly motivated France and China before they signed the CTBT, and the Indians would claim it. It valued all the established nuclear powers in their arms control manoeuvres. However, it may represent the best way out of the potential crisis, if China and America are ready to lead the way.

The danger is the BJP will continue with an active nuclear policy because it is such a political asset

some Indians as a nuclear threat.

India's decision is partly a bid for parity, for a superpower status similar to that of China and for American alliance support. But more attention will not be sufficient. The Indian government has found — as Mrs Gandhi found in 1974, when she exploded a nuclear device for similar reasons to those of today's government — that its decision is popular. If serious sanctions are brought in, allowing the Bharatiya Janata Party to pose as defender of an embattled nation, and if China makes no move to meet Indian requirements, the danger is the BJP will continue with an active nuclear policy because it is such a domestic political asset, rather than following the Chinese example of testing and then signing the test ban treaty.



A club that grows

TECHNOLOGY/Tim Radford asks what really went on underground in Rajasthan

IN ONE big blast on Monday, and in two smaller tests yesterday, India rejoined an exclusive club with a rapidly widening membership.

After more than 2,000 explosions in more than 50 years, Britain, the US and Russia now simulate weapons detonations in the virtual reality of the computer. India has conducted one test — 12 kilotons — in 1974. But the arithmetic of nuclear weaponry still needs to be checked against reality.

On Monday, the Indians admitted to three tests but one detectable blast: an explosion with a yield of about 20 kilotons — more powerful than Nagasaki.

The Indians have said only that they were testing for low yield, for fission and for fusion, leaving Western experts guessing at what went on underground in Rajasthan.

Dr Roger Clark, a seismologist at Leeds University and a member of Vetric, a group of British scientists monitoring test ban treaties, said: "It is not obviously a multiple explosion. If it was a multiple explosion, they were either very, very close together and virtually simultaneous, and/or one or two of them were very small. But if one of them was thermonuclear, then you need a low-yield fission to set the thermonuclear one off. So it could, semantically, have been a single nuclear device — and we see a single seismic signal: 20 kilotons is my estimate."

"That is low for thermonuclear, from which we conclude they have made significant technical progress."

The implication is that the Indians can now design warheads without testing them. The implication is also that other nations near nuclear capability will join the arms race. Pakistan is likely to test shortly, in a region known for earthquakes. "It's an incredibly depressing development," said Dr Clark. "There is a silver lining. Having completed their tests, and wanting to mitigate the sanctions the US and everybody else will doubtless apply to them, they will now sign up to the comprehensive test ban treaty."

Divided opinions

It seems that the Indian leadership has gone berserk

Gohar Ayub Khan,
Pakistan foreign minister

I hope the government of India realises it can be a very great country in the 21st century without doing things like this. It's a terrible mistake

US President Bill Clinton

Ideally, I'd like a nuclear-free world. But that's not the reality today

Atal Bihari Vajpayee,
Indian prime minister

'Fragile economy' risks seismic jolt

SANCTIONS/ International loans and aid may be hard to come by, writes Charlotte Denny

INDIA'S nuclear tests could send a seismic shock through its economy, analysts warned yesterday. The country's booming software industry depends on up-to-date imports from the United States which will be banned by the sanctions order President Clinton signed yesterday.

"If India cannot bring in Windows 98 that will hit the billion pound Bangalore software industry hard," said the British Labour peer Lord Desai, an expert on the economy.

The sanctions will cut off virtually all US aid, but American banks from making loans to the government, and restrict the export of computers and other equipment that might have military uses.

Indian government bonds crashed on the Bombay financial markets last night after the second round of tests. "The latest blasts lit-

erally knocked the bottom out of the market," said a dealer at a state-run bank. The markets fear India will find it hard to sell goods abroad, while inward investment could dry up.

The economy desperately needs foreign investment, as a public sector deficit of 6.5 per cent of GDP means the government has no spare money to invest in infrastructure.

"India is not a strong economy. It is too fragile to behave like a superpower," said Lord Desai. But he warned that sanctions would have to be deftly handled. "There is a danger India could react by reversing its economic liberalisation programme."

Washington will be opposing new aid grants from the World Bank and other international organisations. India currently owes \$44 billion (£28.6 billion) to the bank.

Japan suspended about \$25 million in grant aid before yesterday's tests were announced.

It has been India's largest aid donor since 1986 and has major business investments, mainly through partnerships with local players in key sectors like the motor industry.

Financial action under way

Japan suspends £18 million in grants, including funds for modernising hospitals and fighting polio, and threatens to suspend \$800 million in yen loans.

US bars all loans, except for food aid purchases.

Germany calls off aid talks.

Development aid worth £100 million partly frozen.

Sweden cuts short a three-year £70 million aid agreement.

Denmark freezes a plan to increase its aid to £27 million per year by 2002 from the current £17 million.

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سكنا من الامم



President Suharto (above) returns from Cairo to Jakarta today, where seething rage has propelled the city into chaos. Yesterday riot police clashed with students who said they 'had no weapons apart from their voices' in the war on the streets

PHOTOGRAPHS: CHOO YOUN-KONG AND ALADIN ABDEL NABY

Guns point to the future of Indonesia's Suharto

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok

CONFUSION masks the reasons why riot police and troops embarked on a shooting spree at Jakarta's Trisakti University campus, where six students died on Tuesday. But there can be no doubt about what the brutal folly portends for the world's fourth most populous country. The answer sup-

plied by one diplomat returning to Bangkok from Jakarta was "Mayhem". The combination of student anger and the unchecked aggression of riot police appears set to condemn Indonesia's cities to escalating violence and bloodshed, with rioters from the ever-growing army of urban poor increasingly joining the fray.

President Suharto returns from a rare overseas trip today to a country where the passions ignited during his few days of absence cannot be assuaged except by concessions that appear unthinkable from a ruler of 30 years.

Like the Shah of Iran 20 years ago, the president has built and dominates a formidable apparatus of power that far outguns the resources of his opponents. And like the Iranian Emperor of Emperors, Mr Suharto, isolated by his power and fed self-serving information by his cronies, has seemed incapable of grasping the nature of the ferment gathering strength since the financial crisis that began last year.

The violence in Jakarta, however, shows that the opposition is reaching a critical mass. Once out of the question, President Suharto's demise now looks inevitable, if not necessarily imminent. "It now looks a question of when, rather than if, he must go," a political analyst in Jakarta said. "I don't think the situation is retrievable politically or economically."

Army bosses, retreating in the face of protest on a new scale, have in recent days offered pledges of dialogue and reform that would have been unthinkable even weeks ago. But steadily growing student protest has shown that these no longer suffice to stem the resentment spilling on to the streets.

After three decades of autocratic rule, Mr Suharto has benefited from the inability of even his critics to identify someone more capable of running the country. As Asia's financial crisis plunged Indonesia into bankruptcy and economic chaos, many of those hoping for a change of regime still believed Mr Suharto would be able to bring about the necessary reform.

But as the students' movement draws increasing strength from Jakarta's middle-class establishment and mass-based Muslim organisations, the president's opportunities to dictate the terms of reform or even a transfer of power are evaporating rapidly.

EUROPEAN NEWS

Heroin hooks children of new Russian rich

James Meek in Moscow

THE WEALTHY young patients at the Kundola medical centre, a few miles outside the Russian capital, live to a strict regime. Their comfortable suites in the clinic in a heavily-guarded compound have the air of a gilded cage.

The 24-hour security cordon and camera-monitored perimeter fence exist not to stop them running away or to protect them from attack, but to defend them against the temptation that brought them here: heroin, which dealers and friends of the addicts have been known to smuggle in or throw over the fence.

The Kundola centre, where a three-week course of treatment costs at least \$2,500 — more than an average Russian earns in a year — is a symptom of the drugs craze blighting the children of Russia's richest families.

Yakov Marshak, a senior doctor at the clinic, said the youngest patient they had treated was 12.

"She didn't want to be cured. While she was here she dreamed about drugs, she dreamed about being in the world. She was very hostile," he said. "Surprisingly, we managed to get her off drugs for several months."

The trend for hard drugs among the hedonistic offspring of the rich hit the headlines earlier this week when Liza Berezovskaya, daughter of billionaire politician Boris Berezovsky, was arrested by police in St Petersburg.

Miss Berezovskaya, aged 27, a Cambridge graduate,



Politician Boris Berezovsky with daughter Liza, who was arrested on drugs charges this week PHOTOGRAPH: IGOR TABAKOV

artist and buyer of British art, is a member of the *rusovschiki* — "the shuffled ones". This is the name given to young people who frequent nightclubs in Moscow and St Petersburg, switching venues and drugs as fashions change.

Russian newspapers reported that Miss Berezovskaya was held overnight and released on bail after voluntarily surrendering 0.85 grammes of cocaine. Her boyfriend, Ilya Voznesensky, a model and great-grandson of Joseph Stalin, was also detained.

Russia has some of the harshest drugs laws in the world. Recently they were tightened to criminalise not only dealing and possession but use, making it possible to jail anyone who tests positive for, or admits to having used drugs.

But few believe the tough stance will work. Statistics are unreliable, but it is believed that heroin users number millions. Ben Aris, a contributor to a new Time Out guide to the Russian capital, wrote in the Moscow Times: "Moscow met heroin again around 1998. Within six months a big chunk of clubland was hooked, but by mid-1997 heroin usage was petering out. There are still about 2 million junkies in Russia, but at least heroin is not fashionable any more. Coke is fashionable."

Clinton heaps praise upon embattled Kohl

Ian Traynor in Berlin

US PRESIDENT Bill Clinton last night paid generous homage to Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, citing his leadership, vision and courage in unifying Germany and Europe.

His comments, four months before a general election, will boost the chancellor's flagging campaign. "For the first time, this dream is real. We want a Europe like Germany."

Mr Clinton used a keynote speech in east Berlin on Euro-Atlantic security to praise the chancellor, to offer unstinting support for Mr Kohl's pet project, the single European currency, and to endorse utterly the European integration that the German leader has pursued during nearly 16 years in power.

Mr Kohl's challenger in the September poll, Gerhard Schröder of the social democrats, sat frowning in the audience in Berlin's central Schauspielhaus concert hall, while Mr Kohl was visibly moved by the tribute almost to tears.

The challenger is well

ahead of Mr Kohl in the opinion polls. Mr Clinton's praise to "modern German leadership" on his third official trip to Germany, will undoubtedly do Mr Kohl no harm in the campaign, but might eventually be seen as an emotional valedictory tribute to the Chancellor.

Ever since Charlemagne's crowning as Holy Roman Emperor in the year 800, said Mr Clinton, Europe had sought unification. "For the first time, this dream is real. We want a Europe like Germany."

"The moment of unity did not arrive, it was made. It was made by the determination of a man," said Mr Clinton in reference to Mr Kohl's role over the past decade.

Earlier in Frederick the Great of Prussia's 18th century Sanssouci Palace, Mr Clinton said that it was because of the German chancellor that Europe had accomplished so much so quickly. "The world is in your debt," he told Mr Kohl, while repeatedly reiterating his admiration for Germany's leadership.

Mr Clinton appealed to the peoples of Europe and America to complete the unfinished business triggered by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the east German anti-communist revolutions of 1989, crediting east Germans who rebelled against the communist regime with "freeing us all".

Eight years after German unification and amid record mass unemployment, particularly acute in the east, support for Mr Kohl and his Christian Democrats is disappearing. Mr Clinton acknowledged that Germans may not yet be enjoying the benefits of the policies pursued by Mr Kohl since 1989, but the Chancellor turned damp-eyed as the US president declared that Germans would come to appreciate and cherish the fruits of the course taken by Mr Kohl during the Nineties.

Least the US president's praise be seen as too partial an intervention in the German election campaign, Mr Clinton followed his speech with a private meeting with Mr Schröder, but in the contest for the US leader's blessing it appeared that Mr Kohl had chalked up his first victory over Mr Schröder of the past couple of months.

Europe bans tobacco advertising

Martin Walker in Strasbourg

ALL tobacco advertising, whether on television, radio, billboards or in print, is to be banned in Europe, after the European Parliament voted yesterday by 314 to 211 to defeat a crucial blocking amendment on the legality of the ban.

The vote followed a last-ditch effort by the tobacco industry and its allies to delay the process.

The main fear was the opposition to the ban from the German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, who is facing a difficult election this year and is under pressure from the German publishing industry which is alarmed at the loss of advertising revenue. Mr Kohl was accused by Green MEPs of threatening to block Spain's and Portugal's structural fund payments unless they backed him.

The trade associations of European publishers and advertisers threatened legal action against the ban, calling it a threat to freedom of expression and their industries.

"We are seeing fundamental freedoms sacrificed for short-term political expediency," said Sir Frank Rogers, chairman of the European publishers' council and a director of Britain's Telegraph group. He accused MEPs of "an unseemly rush to push through this shabby piece of legislation based on incorrect articles of the EU treaty".

"There is no evidence that the ban will lead to a reduction in consumption of tobacco," he said. "It will only lead to a reduction in advertising revenues which support a pluralistic press in Europe."

The ban will not come into effect straight away, but in stages from 2001. National parliaments will have two years to enact appropriate

legislation. The final stage will end the sponsorship of international sporting events and teams, including the Formula One grand prix, in October 2006.

The ban is a victory for British MEP Ken Collins, chairman of the EU parliament's environment committee, and for the French Gaullist MEP Christian Cabrol, author of the parliamentary report passed yesterday, who succeeded where two earlier efforts had failed.

race

A club that grows TECHNOLOGY

gh I.Q. d Can't number



Comment

Diary

Matthew Norman

A SHOCKING piece of news necessitates a large slice of brandy... my genial friend Michael Winner is embroiled in another row. The author Helen Zahavi has disowned the film *Michael* made of her novel *Dirty Weekend* — she only supported it when it opened, she says, because the old sweetheart was about to undergo open heart surgery, and she felt sorry for him — and Michael is distressed. His ever faithful manservant, John Fraser MA (Oxon) MPhil, has written to Miss Zahavi, raising the spectre of a lawsuit. "At the time she said how wonderful the film was," Michael tells us, sadly. "Women are fickle, bless them. I've always been mystified by women, haven't you?" (This is the Guardian, Michael, you can't say things like that here.) "I'm bemused," Miss Zahavi, meanwhile, takes this world-weary ruefulness as a withdrawal of his threat to sue. Oh dear, oh dear. Still, there is one silver lining for the old boy: it seems more people have now come close to legal action over *Dirty Weekend* than saw it in the cinema.

A GROUP of American Senators have savoured a lurch into the Carry On genre, according to the US Journal *New Republic*. They formed a body to analyse the recent Nato treaty, which they call *Senate Nato Observer Group*. It was just before a British delegation arrived for a meeting in Madrid recently that someone cottoned on, and removed the acronym from the door. The byline on this story is a certain Dana Millbank. Even so, it is believed to be true.

OVER at the Express, new editor Rizia Role Boycott is pruning her staff. Cartoonist Griffin has gone, as has showbiz writer David Wigg, who, colleagues suggest, has not been treated generously by Lord Holford after 26 years service. Future recipients of the P45 might care to study the example of Charlie Wilson who, when invited to depart the Independent, told David Montgomery that he would not be leaving the building until the redundancy cheque was in his hand. Now that Monty has been ousted himself, we gather that Gentleman Charlie is back, advising Tony O'Reilly on a "constancy basis". What a gutsy wee survivor that fey Glaswegian is!

CONCERN grows for the once fearsome Number 10 machine. On Tuesday evening, not once but twice, my colleague Simon Borel, who was yesterday's columnist, for Alastair's Campbell's approval. Nothing was heard, however, until yesterday morning, when a press officer left a message claiming that only the cover page had arrived, and asking us to fax it yet again... an order we would have obeyed had the paper not already been on sale for several hours. What the hell's going on?

THE Domino Effect strikes in Maine, the *Fortean Times* reports, leaving four people hurt. The sequence began when, dragging him off for his first day in a new job, Sherry Moeller flashed her breasts at her husband to wish him luck. Upon seeing this, passing cab driver Tim Vegas lost control and ran into the Johnson Medical Building — a lucky collision, in one sense, since he sustained whiplash injuries. Inside the hospital, meanwhile, dentist Pamela Kleisick, shocked by the crash, tore Brian Corcoran's gums with a cleaning pick, and in a tough no-nonsense counterstroke he bit down so hard that he severed two of her fingers. Finally, by way of rough justice, Mrs Moeller was admitted to the hospital herself with a head wound, after being struck by a piece of falling masonry.

THE Lord moves in ever more mysterious ways. Now He's cupping footballs. "World Cup FREE!" insists an advert in the *Church Times*. "When you purchase an Electronic Bookman Holy Bible (now only £79.95)." Could you make it up? Verily, you bleed'n' well could not.



Old money, new money: all trying to buy something from politicians



Hugo Young

BUYING an honour is a transaction closely linked, in some cases, to the funding of a political party. This is one hypothesis now being investigated by the Neill Committee on standards in public life, during the inquiry into party funding which the sainted John Major always forbade it to conduct. Yesterday the committee heard two kinds of evidence that the idea was inconceivable. Old money met new, to agree that no such venality could ever occur; and also to prove that the British establishment may sometimes change its personnel, its level of complacency reliably stays the same.

The old world was represented by Francis Pym, who is chairman of the political honours scrutiny committee. To Lord Pym it was unimaginable that the link could be made. His committee of venerable examiners the 50 or so directly "political" honours put up in the twice-yearly lists, and his evidence revealed, incidentally, the fantastic plenitude of sifting committees and departmental working-parties that deliberate on honours lists, culminating with the Pym committee which itself engages in interminable "weighing" of the merits of every political candidate for anything from a peerage to an OBE. Is there a country in the world, outside the old Soviet Union, that applies such disproportionate effort to matters of honorific hierarchy?

What interests the Pym committee most, however, is money. Has the candidate given £5,000 to a party, or any proxy for a party? This is not a disqualifier: indeed, Lord Pym said, it gives "bonus points" on top of other cred-

its, because political donations are high artefacts of citizenship. But these should be known to him. They would always remain secret. He said that his committee's minutes shouldn't be revealed, as are most other official papers, after 30 years — "or ever". But it was rare for him not to know who had given what, he thought, because "the relevant chief whip" kept him confidentially in touch with the list of donations.

Enter, then, the new money, in the form of Lord Levy, chief fund-raiser for New Labour and, before that, for the blind trust that funded Tony Blair's private office. It seems likely that the greater part of £10 million may have passed to Mr Blair or the Labour Party under Levy's eye, and he presented himself convincingly as a man wedded to the public interest. The only trouble was that it turned out he had never met the chief whip, in whom Lord Pym reposes his trust as the source of all truth about donations. Indeed, it appeared that Lord Levy had only recently made the acquaintance of the Labour whip in his own House of Parliament.

Chief whips, in the world of New Labour and new money, are entitled not to have their privacy infringed. Levy, an experienced fund-raiser in many fields, offered an opposite insight. In the modern world of unashamed striving, the public spectacle of a business rival able to afford a £20,000 donation might spur his competitor to give £30,000, Levy knowingly said, to prove he was doing better. Moreover, while 130 Labour donors had given more than £5,000, the declaration threshold, only one, he said, refused because he didn't want his name in print. The culture of openness is

plainly going to be one theme of the Neill report. The committee still has to solve some tricky problems. My reading of the inquiry is that it is unlikely to pursue the futile objective of trying to cap the overall spending of parties, which some have pressed upon it, and also unlikely to advocate direct state subsidy of election campaigns, something the Government won't favour and which is inconsistent with Blair's oft-vaunted revival of politics from within. Tax-breaks for certain levels of donation are a different matter, on which Lord Neill has shown personal sympathy. There will be some interesting exegesis to make sense of what are now the universal party pledges against accepting "foreign" money. Is a Frenchman with a stake in the British water industry foreign? Is any fellow-citizen of the EU?

The acceptance of transparency, however, is a big advance. Not long ago, all parties were engaged in a cover-up. Now Labour has moved to favour disclosure of the sums as well as the names: a rule which, if valid for party funds, is as valid for the leaders' offices, and should see an end to the so-called blind trusts. Disclosure ought to start at £1,000, the better to normalise the idea that political giving is neither a dubious nor unusual thing to do. Transparency doesn't solve everything, and in particular does not justify the picture of eternal innocence that Lords Pym and Levy rather insultingly projected yesterday. The more you give, the more, by and large, you want — of something or other. Full declaration at least enables us to see who might want, what they get, and how much, win or lose, they pay.

They broke, however, on the crucial question. This is why one can conclude that the Neill exercise is already bearing fruit. Whereas Pym demands secrecy in perpetuity for his operations, Levy spoke for the greater transparency of his and threw new light on the case for it. To the common suggestion — made with unctuous plecty by every Tory fund-raiser — that political donors are entitled not to have their privacy infringed, Levy, an experienced fund-raiser in many fields, offered an opposite insight. In the modern world of unashamed striving, the public spectacle of a business rival able to afford a £20,000 donation might spur his competitor to give £30,000, Levy knowingly said, to prove he was doing better. Moreover, while 130 Labour donors had given more than £5,000, the declaration threshold, only one, he said, refused because he didn't want his name in print. The culture of openness is

Cuckoos in the nest

Roy Hattersley



LAST Thursday, a seminar was held in Downing Street under the patronage and in the presence of the Prime Minister. The assembled academics, politicians and journalists were given the specific task of defining the Third Way, the philosophy which guides Tony Blair and underpins government policy. I welcomed the initiative for the very good reason that, since the Prime Minister believes in the Third Way, it is important for him to find out what it is. Others may applaud the initiative for different reasons. Once again, New Labour has made a clean break with the disreputable past. In the bad old days, Labour leaders acquired convictions some years before they aspired to become prime minister.

My only regret is that the seminar showed few signs of coming to a firm conclusion. Perhaps I should not have been surprised. The Wise Men of Gotham could not catch a reflection of the moon in a fishing net and David Hume failed to distil pure reason from the air above 18th-century Edinburgh. According to press reports, Mr Charles Leadbetter presented the seminar paper which most attracted the Prime Minister's approval. It included a not entirely rhetorical question: Is the Third Way a political philosophy, a fully engineered ideology or a political project to command hegemony?

TRANSLATED into English, I assume that "a political project to command hegemony" means "a way of winning successive general elections". And I express the resentment that local Labour Party members must feel at the suggestion that Tony Blair might have been (even remotely) motivated by the desire to win and hang on to office. However, having rejected that squalid possibility, I need a plausible alternative. Unfortunately Mr Leadbetter did nothing to help me find it. He spent far more time explaining what the Third Way is not, than describing what it is. Occasionally he offered a vague generality by way of positive definition. "We want to promote the ethic of creative individualism." Then, fearing that the intangible was dangerously precise, he moved on to the wholly vacuous. "The Third Way will only work if people renegotiate their sense of identity."

However, it is not the intellectual quality of the Downing Street deliberations which mark their political importance. It is the fact that they were held at all. The German

SDP met at Bad Godesberg to declare that it was not a Marxist party. But it remained distinctively socialist. The Tories embraced free trade (of a sort) under Peel and public ownership (with the exception of road haulage) under Churchill. But they did not start, *tabula rasa*, to redefine the basic principle on which the faith was based. If Christians sat down to invent a new religion and decided that the Sermon on the Mount was inconsistent with the global economy we would conclude that they had ceased to be Christians. The same rational rule must apply to last Thursday's seminar.

The logic is invincible. A political party is a body of men and women which is united by a common purpose. Differences of emphasis, interpretation and priority may divide them, but there is a basic ideological identity which holds them together. It may be a single issue or a complicated system of values, the pursuit of a particular class or the thoughtless devotion to a dubious dogma. But common commitment to an established belief is what makes a political party. By searching for a new defining doctrine, the Downing Street seminar was explicitly rejecting the idea in which Labour believed before 1994. It was another step towards the creation of a new party.

Cuckooing in the nest as we used to say about the Militants. And the amazing fact is that nobody has uttered a peep of protest.

All the evidence — before and after the general election — suggests that Real Labour is still denied by Tony Blair's headlights as he waits to be squashed flat on the road to democratic socialism. Thousands of party members are desperately unhappy about their long-held convictions being swept aside by the New Labour juggernaut. But they

have no idea how to stop it hogging the highway.

A distinguished political journalist assured me that Real Labour in the cabinet — by our mutual calculation, about a third of its members — are waiting for "events" to provide a chance for them to push the government back towards genuine democratic socialism. I hope that is so. But postponing striking until it is possible to strike hard often means that the moment to strike never comes. A better example to follow was given by a colour sergeant at Rorke's Drift to a frightened private, who asked why a handful of Welsh Borderers was expected to take on the whole Zulu army. "They are not going away," he said, "and we have nowhere else to go. They'll annihilate us if they get the chance. I think it would be best if we tried to stop that happening." That makes good sense to me.

prepare for Emperor Akihito's arrival this month they are desperate for the visit to go well, as a part of the fostering of better relations between our two countries. For one cannot sit back and watch the Japanese Emperor come over here, see him fêted, not least by the Queen giving him the Order of the Garter for chivalry, without expressing my feeling that this is wrong.

By all means let all this happen when the Japanese have atoned for their past. Until that time, these acts are to me totally unacceptable. I will be standing alongside the POWs and internees lining the Mall and as the Emperor passes I will be proud to join them in turning my back on him.

The question for other Britons is whether I will be doing this on my own.

Martyn Day is a solicitor

I shall turn my back on the Japanese Emperor as he passes down the Mall

Garter shame

Martyn Day

SITTING in the public gallery of the Commons, I turned at the sound of a crash to see Arthur Titherington, tears of frustration in his eyes, smashing his hand into the panel in front of him, breaking a knuckle.

At the time, Labour MP Jane Griffiths was saying that after 50 years, the Japanese POWs and internees should have the courage to put it behind them.

Prince Philip is not the only one who may be unhappy about the forthcoming visit of the Japanese Emperor Akihito.

For the vast majority of the 12,000 POWs and civilian internees who are claiming compensation from the Japanese, putting it behind them is exactly what they tried to do when they returned home after the war. They tried to live their lives, taking jobs, getting married, having kids. The last thing they wanted was to relive the nightmare of 1941-5. But their treatment at the hands of the Japanese hung over them like a cloud, unresolved. It was only on reaching retirement age that the smouldering anger they had felt for all those intervening years started to come to the fore.

They no longer felt prepared to turn the other cheek. This was not an issue to simply put to one side. The passing of time made them realise that it had been burned into their very souls and would remain with them until the day they died.

They joined together in the late 1980s and early 1990s to fight for justice. It is clear that the fight will not stop until the last of them has died.

The intensity and passion of this view is entirely seen in Arthur Titherington, the chairman of the Japanese Labour Camps Survivors Association. Having acted for him for the last five years I was not at all surprised by the damage he caused himself in the Commons. Indeed when we were last in Tokyo we met Te-

Blair is wrong if he believes that Britain can do no more

Isako Doi, leader of the Social Democratic Party. She told us how Arthur had become a nationally known figure in Japan since he was seen on TV news throwing his false teeth at a Japanese interviewer who attempted to delve too deeply into

what had happened to him in the war. This is why the suggestion by Ms Griffiths, the Foreign Office Minister — and by the Prime Minister himself — that the POWs should accept the lukewarm apology given by the Japanese Prime Minister to Mr Blair in Tokyo in January, as an end to the issue, is so totally misconceived.

Few would suggest that Japan has properly and fully atoned for what it did. The apologies received have been half-hearted and given begrudgingly even after all these years.

The Japanese have attempted to use the legal niceties of the 1951 peace treaty as a shield to prevent paying for what they did in the war. The resentment of the Japanese throughout the world, because of this, remains a major issue.

Tony Blair, however, wants us to look forward rather than back and to accept that there is nothing more to be done. He has stated that his government will no longer raise this issue with the Japanese.

The question for the people of this country is whether we can accept this,

whether we are prepared to say to these war victims that we have done as much as we can for them and that our wider economic interests are now of greater significance.

It is quite clear that as the Government and royalty



prepare for Emperor Akihito's arrival this month they are desperate for the visit to go well, as a part of the fostering of better relations between our two countries.

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End nears for Suharto

But what happens next?

AN ECONOMIC crisis marked by price riots, student demonstrations, and attacks on Chinese merchants, later followed by a terrible massacre of alleged communists, formed the chaotic background to President Suharto's rise to power in Indonesia more than 30 years ago. It would be ironic if a new economic crisis should be the catalyst for his fall, which, after the deaths of student demonstrators this week and after the first signs that major figures in Indonesian society are coming out against him, seems increasingly a possibility. Indonesia could find itself in the cycle which brought down the Shah and his government in Iran. There, alternating efforts at suppression and liberalisation were equally unsuccessful, while the deaths and funerals of demonstrators kept on recharging the situation whenever it showed signs of quietening.

In Indonesia, as in Iran, the position of the army will be critical. At some point, if the protests continue and if soldiers are faced with the daily necessity of shooting their compatriots, they will begin to question whether a few more years for Suharto is worth that kind of price. The differences with Iran are also great. An Islamist regime of the kind which took over in Tehran is not in sight. In Iran the armed forces were shunted to one side after the revolution, while in Indonesia, the likelihood is that the army will retain its powerful and privileged position, to some extent. What may be going on between the scenes now could be the initial manoeuvres between

army leaders — all beholden to Suharto and some related to him — and politicians about the terms on which they can jointly agree to displace the old man.

The Suharto regime belongs historically with the military regimes of Thailand and South Korea and the Marcos regime in the Philippines. They were products of the cold war and of American support for governments that could be trusted to be tough on communism whatever their other defects. Their inefficiency, corruption, repressive actions, and lack of understanding of how the societies over which they ruled had changed, led to their collapse. Whatever the way they went, they are all gone now, replaced by governments better and more democratic. If still far from ideal. In Indonesia, the other shoe has been waiting to drop for a long time. Although there are many charges against him, Suharto is not a Mobutu, but his position is not likely to be tenable for much longer.

The US, Britain, and some other Western countries have urged reform on Suharto. They were not so urgent on these matters in the past when a strong Suharto was useful to them. In any case, it is unlikely that reform can save him. His historical duty is to arrange his own exit in a way that helps his country and does not plunge it into violence or new problems. He asked Indonesians recently to put off all thought of reform for five years. But the argument over the succession has already begun. What is most important is that Indonesians do not stumble into their next 30 years in as bloody and ill considered a way as they did into their last three decades. Some of the protests have taken the same racist form as they did during that crisis, with attacks on Chinese shopkeepers. Some protests may have been staged by the army in order to put pressure on the IMF to soften the

measures it was urging on Indonesia. Within the armed forces officers with dubious ambitions are lurking, while among the opposition politicians there is ambition and inexperience. These things should give us pause. Suharto is almost certainly on his way out, but that is less important than who and what comes in his place.

Soros rides again

He's what the economy needs

GEORGE SOROS, the international financier/philanthropist is reported to be betting up to \$8 billion that the pound will fall. Let's hope his diagnosis is correct. UK industrial production has fallen for two consecutive quarters — the official definition of a recession — as the long-drawn out effects of the strong pound at last take their toll. These days manufacturing industry accounts for less than 20 per cent of the nation's wealth (partly because of the effects of a strong pound in earlier periods) but it is still a vital part of the economy and is responsible for most of our exports. The last time Mr Soros bet against sterling in a big way was before the pound's ignominious ejection from Europe's Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992. He reckoned — then as now — that the pound was heading for a fall. In 1992 sterling fell 20 per cent after "Black Wednesday" ushering in a period of economic growth and currency stability.

Sterling has already fallen 7 per cent since Mr Soros started punting at the end of March, when sterling was at a peak of 3.1 Deutschmarks. Hopefully, it will now fall to a much more realistic level (at under DM2.70). It won't happen just because of Soros, though he may hasten the process. It will occur, if it does, because interest rates

in the UK are perceived to have peaked at a time when the economy is slowing down relative to the rest of Europe and when the Government is keen to prepare for eventual monetary union. The history of floating exchange rates is how economies can cope with the madness of the roller coaster rides that currencies are subjected to. As the Governor of the Bank of England reminded us last month, the pound was down 50 per cent, up 25 per cent and then down more than 40 per cent against the Deutschmark in four or five year waves to 1987.

Curiously, the squeeze on manufacturing hasn't yet depressed pay. Yesterday's figures show that average earnings in manufacturing rose from 4.7 per cent in February to 5.3 per cent in March justifying the Chancellor's warnings about pricing ourselves out of jobs. Average earnings in the private sector are rising at twice the rate of the public sector — hardly what the latter expects from a Labour government. The prospect of rising wages and falling output conjures up unhappy memories of 1970s stagflation. In these circumstances a fresh blast of growth from a competitive pound is just what the country and Mr Soros (not least his philanthropic works) needs.

Rubbing salt in

First, tell us what we consume

NEO-LIBERALS will squeal. Yesterday another set of experts called on consumers to alter their habits in the interests of health. Stand by for yet another blast against interfering do-gooders and the nanny state. Yet the argument against salt — not a new one — is a good example why governments do need to interfere. The idea that consumers are free to choose is a myth. Most

consumers do not have the right information.

The purpose of yesterday's conference was to raise public awareness of the health risks associated with a high salt diet. The typical Briton consumes about nine grams of salt per day. A succession of government advisers has suggested this should be cut to six. The official requirement is only 4 grams. Scientists estimate high British consumption of salt is killing as many as 40,000 people a year prematurely. They spoke yesterday of "convincing scientific evidence" which demonstrates that it is only in populations with a high salt intake where blood pressure increases with age. High blood pressure increases the risks of heart attacks and strokes, two of Britain's biggest killers. About 80 per cent of all salt consumed originates from the salt added to processed food. Only 10 per cent is present naturally in fresh food: the rest comes from cooking or from the salt cellar. Processed food remains the key to reduction.

It is almost five years since an expert committee called for a 30 per cent reduction in salt consumption but clever lobbying by the food industry persuaded Conservative ministers to ignore the recommendation. Consumption remains as high as ever for a simple reason. It is almost impossible for consumers to know how much salt is contained in processed food. Salt is not even mentioned on labels — only the sodium content, which needs to be multiplied by 2.5 to achieve the level of salt. Even then, it is frequently given as a proportion of 100g, rather than as a proportion of the meal. The food industry has failed to put its house in order. There will be no reduction in consumption until food labels are required to be much more specific and the industry closely monitored by the Food Standards Agency. Nanny you're needed.

Letters to the Editor

The holes in high finance

CAN anyone explain (Soros bets \$8bn on fall of the pound, May 13) how it is possible to buy a pound for DM3.10 and then sell it later for DM2.70 and still make a profit? Tim Bowen, St Leonards-on-Sea, E Sussex.

YOUR headline, "Eccles-tonic: I gave Blair £1m to keep taxes down" (May 13), contains serious charges against Mr Ecclestone and, by implication, Mr Blair. His letter clearly shows that Mr Ecclestone does not say any such thing — it states the contribution on tax policy was taken. Ix Manderville, Lewes, E Sussex.

NEVER thought anything could surpass the motorway service area doughnut for a gigantic mark-up, but at the British Library coffee bar, two slices of cake approximately 8cm square cost 85p. I know these costs have to be recouped, but this seems extreme: can anyone match that mark-up? Barbara Penrose, Leicester.

"I'm sorry that 'too many English incommens' make Jan Morris depressed" (The Questionnaire, May 9). We have quite a lot of Welsh people living here in Bristol and often, in daily conversation at least, they seem just like us. Mind you, I'm from Essex originally, so I'm used to alien cultures. Martin Wolff, Bristol.

COULD Greece and Cyprus be voting for the other simply because they understand what the songs are about, rather than more sinister political back-scratching (Viva Ismediator, May 13)? Jenny Beard, London.

WHY is Israel in the Eurovision Song Contest, anyway? Shouldn't Syria and Lebanon be included as well. William Aliberry, London.

SELLA FIELD pollutes North Sea? After a 6,000-mile detour, presumably. W Brown, Norwich.

India tests positive

YOUR Leader comment (May 12) that Indian nuclear tests had little to do with its national security shows complete lack of knowledge and understanding of the security environment in south Asia. Since 1974, when India first tested a nuclear device, it has watched China conduct over 40 nuclear tests, build missiles and target Indian cities, and helped Pakistan to build bombs and missiles.

Western countries sent positive signals to both China and Pakistan to continue their weapons development programmes, so long as they did not harm Western interests, in the form of sales of high-tech defence equipment to China and granting most-favoured nation status.

Indian governments refrained from testing nuclear devices, partly because of their utopian dream of global disarmament and their desire not to increase defence spending, but mainly because of the threat of US sanctions. However, the BJP government's decision to stand up to Western hypocrisy and take action to safeguard India's national security is fully understood, and applauded by all sections

of opinion in India. Besides, Indians feel that if Britain and France need nuclear weapons to defend their 50 million citizens against a non-existent enemy, then surely India's need to possess nuclear weapons to defend nearly a billion lives against real threats from its belligerent neighbours is even greater. Prem Waastess, Hayes, Middlesex.

UKRAINE has declined into something akin to a third world country since perestroika, despite having some of the world's most advanced technology. It is difficult to imagine that new biotechnology did not play a part. Whilst President Kuchma has his Nobel Peace prize for that historic act, he is also now faced with borrowing from the IMF to pay the country's pensioners, from the moment of denunciation. Ukraine has had practically no positive help from world leaders.

I suspect India may well now fare better and fully expect to see reports of those same leaders now beating a path to India's door. Alex Biscuk, Bacup, Lancashire.

THAT the all-knowing US failed to foresee or forestall India's nuclear tests is the big news in this country. The US was full of contempt for the Indians. No one really believed that India was capable of detonating atomic bombs. India's reticence, despite the Pokhran test of 1974, was translated as incompetence. In the meantime, China, France and a number of sundry countries went ahead with atomic blast after blast and no one heard any meaningful protest from the West. A Ghosh, Houston, Texas.

GIVEN India's testing of these three nuclear devices has been driven, in part, by New Delhi's insecurity, surely the sources of this insecurity should be re-evaluated. The Chinese threat is somewhat less than India's internal problems. Weak federal structures, population control, trade union reform and structural change to India's financial institutions serve to create insecurity in New Delhi. Simply exploding bombs will not make a country "great" or more secure. Luke David, London.

Why the Connection was bound to be lost

IN the fall-out from the latest Carlton saga, it would be an injustice if those responsible for the climate in which The Connection was commissioned were allowed to wriggle away into their dark corners unobserved (The fake connection, May 2). The producer apart, they have not received the attention they deserve.

The rot set in during the Thatcher-inspired Broadcasting Act, with its emphasis on light-touch regulation. This led to "and finally" news presentation, along with the notion that "factual" output must equal a diet of confrontational, sensation-seeking material, assembled too swiftly for proper supervision and verification.

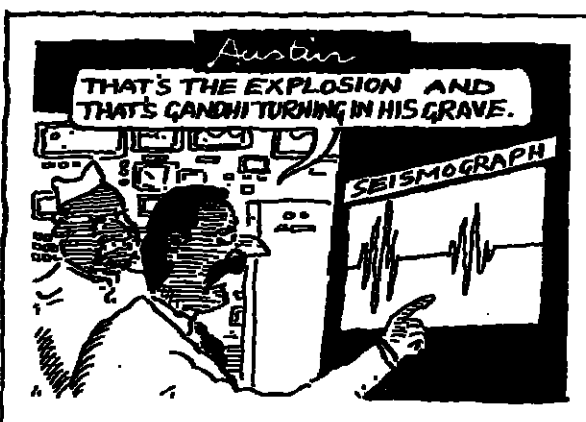
As an indirect consequence of the same legislation, many

television journalists were promoted to commissioning posts outside their technical, aesthetic and ethical competence. It is these people and the tabloid culture they created which led to The Connection and its shoddy values.

Other factors were the break-up of production teams (a first check against many location abuses), the elevation to an art-form of extravagant programme proposals — more important than the transmitted end products; and the loss of experienced in-house production and commissioning staff who knew how and when to say "no". They understood that programme compliance was not just a matter for the BBC, but was part of a contract with the viewer. It is an irony that this breach of trust appears to have been uncovered through Carlton's reluctance

to pay bills on time. At last, a fitting end for accountants! Dr Jim Barrow, Birmingham.

IN MY 26 years as a sound recorder with the BBC Film Unit, I colluded in many dubious reconstructions without which the programme would have failed to be entertaining. The primary purpose of television is to entertain. Don't believe much of what you see on the box — even the news uses dubbed bangs on war footage. Real bangs are delayed by five seconds per mile, like thunder. Reconstructions are part of the hidden art of documentary film-making. Try spotting the zoo animals in nature documentaries: watch for identifying patterns like tiger head stripes which disappear and reappear. David Brimcombe, London.



Recognising democratic rights

THERE is an essential difference between the London referendum and a trade union recognition ballot (Blair faces Commons revolt over union recognition polls, May 13). The majority vote of a minority (25 per cent of Londoners will bind all 100 per cent of them in terms of how the city is run. But the majority in a recognition ballot does not bind those who do not wish to be represented by a union. The right to appoint an agent is a fundamental liberty. Yet we may be asked to accept that, unless 40 per cent of a workforce want simultaneously to appoint an agent to deal with their business, then none will have the right.

The quarters of the London electorate did not vote yes. Yet we all accept that a simple majority of those who vote make policy for the rest of us. In contrast, a simple majority of those who vote in a recognition ballot are not even to be allowed to exercise their own

rights. This is a fundamental denial of liberty. The average worker earns almost £1 million over a working life. They are exposed to all sorts of hazards at work, and they need to make provision for their retirement. These transactions involve sums of money way in excess of those involved in buying or selling a house. Who would deny the citizen the right to appoint numerous agents in property transactions? Why one rule for the citizen in property transaction and another for the worker in economic transactions? Paul Kenny, GMB Regional Secretary, London.

THE turnout in my ward for the local elections last week was about 30 per cent. Does this mean I can deregulate the council and stop paying my council tax? Roy Stilling, Winchester, Hants.

Under arms

YOUR article (Armpit after shave works wonders, May 13) applauded the apparently successful trials of a wonder drug to make the user irresistible to the opposite sex. Rather than being the general panacea you heralded it to be, could it not also be the catalyst of domestic mayhem, acting in an indiscriminate manner on oblivious, possibly happily married non-users? May be the phenomenon should be obliged to carry a health warning: "Could seriously damage stable relationships." Tom Gunner, Reading.

I AM 71 years of age. What a difference to my own life if, 50 years ago, Viagra and pheromone after-shave had been on the market. Mike Mitchell, Manchester.

IT was suggested (Letters, May 13) that President Suharto couldn't afford to buy British arms even if he wanted to. If only that were true. Arms-exporting countries such as Britain are only too happy to provide loans (guaranteed by the taxpayers). Unfortunately, it is the poor of Indonesia who will be bearing the burden of the debt long after President Suharto has gone. Duncan Reeve, Tyters Green, Bucks.

Free at last

IN HIS article on the launch of the socialist think tank, Catalyst (Think tank lists Government faults, May 13), Michael White describes me as the "sacked editor of the New Statesman". Before yet another myth becomes established about that small and ailing publication, can I point out that although the current proprietor and Pymaster General, Geoffrey Robinson, may well have wanted to sack me if he had been given the chance, I had in fact already resigned before he bought the magazine? As I said at the time, five years as editor at the New Statesman was the equivalent of 25 anywhere else: I had served my sentence and wanted to enjoy my freedom. The job of cheerleading for New Labour has since been taken on by people who are much more comfortable with it than me, which is why I now prefer to write for Catalyst. Steve Platt, London.

We do not publish letters where only an e-mail address or a truncated address is supplied; please include a full postal address. We may edit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used. The Country Diary can be found on Page 10

Racism, xenophobia, sexism: yes, it's the beautiful game

JIM White is right when he says we all became Bolton fans on Sunday (Denying the pleasures of pettiness, May 12). I don't hate Everton, but I would have liked Bolton to survive and them (or another top team) to be relegated for three reasons:

1) The Nationwide First Division needs a "big" name so that the likes of Crewe and Bury, who have no realistic chance of Premiership football, have a Cup Final-level of match twice in the season. 2) We have to stop the suspicion that there is some kind of conspiracy to keep the Premiership a closed shop. 3) Bolton's goal against Everton was somehow missed by the referee. Photos prove it was a goal and it would have

kept Bolton up and put Everton down. Oh, yes, Leicester City should have had two penalties at Goodison a few weeks ago — that would have sent them down as well, but the referee didn't notice again. What is going on? Robert Bracegirdle, Leicester.

PERHAPS a lack of black faces on and off the pitch may be one reason why many fans wished to see "egg smeared over the great and good" of Everton. It may also have been one reason why Peter Johnson, the Everton chairman, failed in his attempts to attract a world-class manager and players. Steven Harris, London.

BITTERLY disappointed with your response to the final Saturday in the Scottish Premier League. More coverage was afforded to French outfit Lens and their match against Auxerres. Sportsweek's focus would have been more deserved on a Scottish Premier League bristling with action. What about the potential of Celtic ending Rangers' nine-year stranglehold on the league? Red card for a professional foul. Aaron Devereaux, Sevenoaks, Kent.

MURMURED "Here we go, here we go," wearily as I read Michele Hanson's article Pan Male (May 4). I have since been preparing again to be on the receiving end of whining, tut-

ting and disapproving glares as that age-old stereotype, the "we hate football" woman (also known as the "no one's taking any notice of us" women) warm up for the kick off.

Some people like football, some people don't, some people don't give themselves the chance to find out. It doesn't have to be a males-only domain, but it will stay that way if we teach our kids how to get top marks in the "rules we're supposed to take" game. If you simply don't like football then please don't fret about admiring us or forgiving us. Just leave us to our obsession and devote a little more time to your own. Sarah Howe, Whitton, Middx.

Is a parking tax the answer to the supermarket juggernaut?

FRANCIS Wheen is right to point out that public transport needs improving (Wheen's World, May 13) but his comments about possible parking taxes on shoppers are misguided. Whether a parking tax is raised from supermarkets or middle-class shoppers, it will help our ailing town centres by giving a competitive edge to shops that are well placed for local access by foot, bike or bus.

A parking tax would also encourage companies to implement green commuter plans, develop home delivery services or find other innovative ways to reduce their tax bills. It would raise substantial revenues which could pay for improvements in public transport.

For all these reasons, we believe a parking tax should form part of the coherent package of transport policies we are hoping to see in the Government's white paper next month. Philip Parker, Transport 2000, London.

FRANCIS Wheen concludes his column: "It is pointless to penalise motorists for crimes committed by huge corporations. Anyone who spends an hour or two in the sanitised hall that is Tesco has surely been punished enough for one lifetime." In February 1997, I spent an hour and a half seriously injured in the crushed wreck of my car underneath a 38-tonne Tesco lorry. It had gone out of control while negotiating a roundabout and overturned on top of a car containing myself, my seven-year-old daughter and her friend. We count ourselves lucky to have survived.

Tesco's response has been to admit no liability nor offer any expression of concern. This seems to bear out the uncurbed powers of giant retailers, and the Government's apparent choice "to favour the rich and powerful at the expense of the ordinary citizen". Judith Moore, Thetford, Norfolk.

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Catalan imprint in exile

death. His love for Lorca persisted through his life. When J.M. Cohen opened up the series *The Penguin Poets*, covering the chief European languages, he inevitably turned to Joan to prepare a new and expanded anthology for which Joan provided English prose versions.

By the 1940s, Joan was a successful publisher and antiquarian bookseller. Because of the London blitz he moved his family and business out of

Joan Gili... a 60-year pact between England and Catalonia

I suppose the organisation he felt closest to was the Anglo-Catalan Society. This emerged from a sequence of casual dinners in London restaurants in the 1950s. The two mainstays of the group were Dr Josep Batista i Roca of Cambridge University, a short, stiff, penguin-like figure, an obsessive Catalanist, and the tall, thin, bearded shape of Joan Gili, as Catalan as the former, exiles. As well as like Trueta, the first Nuffield professor of orthopaedic surgery in Oxford. In 1964 it was decided to form a society to disseminate and celebrate the

live to see the projected major grammar of the Catalan language by Alan Yates and Max Wheeler, inspired, of course, by his original example: it will now be dedicated to his memory.


Joan Gili leaves his wife, and three children: Jonathan, a television producer and documentary film maker, Katherine, a sculptor, and the youngest, Martin, who has followed in his father's footsteps in the Dolphin Book Company. Joan can now at last rest peacefully in the generous shade of these multiple accomplishments.

Winning justice for the dispossessed

In 1967-68 she worked in private practice at Birnberg & Co, but in 1969 became legal director of Mencap, the charity for people with learning disabilities. She worked on Mencap's evidence to the Law Commission, which led to its proposals on the reform of the law of consent by persons with mental incapacity, now being taken forward in the current green paper.

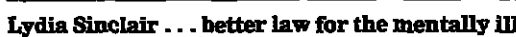
She strived to make the criminal justice system more accessible and fair to people with learning disabilities. Her contribution to the 1986 Law Society/British Medical

Sarah Leigh



Lydia Sinclair, solicitor, born November 20, 1945; died May 5, 1998

Sarah Leigh



fair in his

stated that in his time at the Greater London Council he was "unable to achieve much."

First with the election results

He saw that computers would hold the key to information communication, and for the 1966 general election introduced one, which had to be housed in another building because of its size. Not only was a mass of factual information available about the candidates, the parties, previous majorities and results, but for the first time the country could learn of swings and forecasts at the touch of a button.

Two years later he was credited with the meticulous organisation of PA's centenary celebrations, culminating at Guildhall when the Queen marked 100 years of Imperial newsgathering and dispatch.

Brian Higgins
Ernest James Harvey, accountant, born February 15, 1913; died April 22, 1998

DAWSON. Geraldine Anne ("Gert") **DAWSON**, aged 58, free thinker and spirit to the end, died peacefully after a courageous struggle against cancer, on May 11th at Pendeford Hospice, Burnley, Lancashire. Justice, compassion and a boundless love of life were her guiding principles, and her life will be celebrated at Hopetown Church, West Yorkshire on Saturday, May 18th at 9.45 am, and for close friends and family, a cremation at Burnley to follow. Donations to Bend Sinister

SAUNDERS, born 10th May, 1908 at
Marble Creek Centre, Beloved
husband of the late Mary, loved
and missed by sons, Bill and
George, and daughters, Mary
and Louise, Estel and Charlene,
grandchildren, George, Felix and
Paula, all of whom he loved
and missed. Funeral service at
Methodist Church, Dartmouth Park, May
19th, 11.30 a.m. Burial at New
London N.W.S. Enquiries: 0171 485-4672.

SAVAGE, Professor Robert, on May 9 at
his home, formerly of the Geology Department
at the University, Southampton to Anna
and Virginia. Funeral service at Anna
Chapel, 11.30 a.m. Burial at St Andrew's
Chapel, Bristol on Tuesday May 19 at
10.00 a.m.

Engagements. Goodenough Carr. The engagement is announced between Nicholas, elder son of Sir Anthony and Lady Goodenough, of Ottawa, Canada and of Wimbledon, London, and Sibban, only daughter of Captain and Mrs J. Price of Langstone, Hampshire, and the late Lieutenant Commander David Carr, Royal Navy.

Serious about music – and all that jazz



Powell's career had been directed towards classical music, but he loved jazz and in his early days with Goodman critics suggested he might become a great player. For concert work he had changed his name from Epstein to Powell at a time when Jewish names were often Anglicised — although it did not apparently occur to his boss, Mr Goodman.

But Powell disliked life on the road and the band's meticulous arrangements restricted his creativity. There was also Goodman's martinet leader-

in 1970 he moved to Los Angeles and taught at the California Institute for the Arts. By now he had developed a formidable, elitist reputation, although he loved to laugh and enjoyed making outrageous statements.

Shortly after arriving at CalArts he was embroiled in a controversy. He had composed

Immobiles I-IV in which his tapes were mixed with playing by the LA Philharmonic. An audience of 14,000 turned out to hear this, and the following experimental collaboration with the late Frank Zappa of Mothers of Invention, and members of the Philharmonic.

But during the performance of *Immobiles* a disconnected wire caused an interruption. The audience was asked to wait until after the intermission but Zappa fans loudly protested and Powell, already uneasy in this atmosphere, marched out. "Serious new

The LA Times received hundreds of letters, some praising Powell, others condemning him as an aloof snob. Powell, immensely popular among his students, remained unperturbed.

In the 1980s he resumed playing jazz, and in 1987 received an ecstatic review

from the New Yorker. He was awarded the Pulitzer prize in 1990 for his concerto for two pianos, *Duplicates*.
Powell once said: "Music, just music, nothing more, beautifully composed, beautifully performed, free from parody, satire, political commentary, pandering — for me that remains more powerful than all the rest."

Christopher Reed
Melvin Epstein Powell, composer,
musician, teacher, born February
12, 1923; died April 24, 1998

Frances Annis, actress, 55;
 Hazel Blears, Labour MP, 55;
 Chay Bruce, yachtsman, 55;
 Jack Bryne, rock singer,
 bassist, composer, 55; Dent,
 Cannon, playwright, 79; Ale,
 Dankworth, jazz bassist, 38;
 Phil Drabble, naturalist and
 broadcaster, 55; Fiddlers, Fal-
 lowley, Conservative MP, 46;
 David Henry, actor, 58;
 Helen Field, opera singer, 47;
 Emma Forbes, children's
 television presenter, 34; Bar-
 oness (Sarah) Hogg, econom-
 ist, 52; George Lucas, film
 director, producer, 55;
 Lord Macaulay, former de-
 puty chairman, Conservative
 Party, 55; Canon John Oates,
 rector, St Bride's, Fleet street,
 68; Stan Phillips, actress, 64;
 Tim Roth, actor, 37; Patricia
 Routledge, publisher, 55;
 717, 77; Franjo Tudjman,
 president of Croatia, 76;
 Adrienne Uzzell-Hamilton,
 circuit judge, 66; Bob
 Woolmer, cricket coach, 48.

.....

in the grassy river bed, and the goosanders — two chestnut-headed females and a male resplendent in glossy green, white and black breeding plumage — settled back on their rock. A peasecock butterfly landed on my rucksack, turned its back to the low early morning sun and spread its wings. We'd come here with the intention of taking a longer walk upriver to Cokerstone, but suddenly just sitting here in this sun-breathing here in this sun-breathing the hyscinth-scented of bluebells and waiting to see what would come next, seemed a much better idea.

PHIL GATES

Harvey soon excelled at school, and looked set to study to become a doctor; but circumstances meant he had to leave at 15 to support his family. He began work as a clerk at Onco, but studied hard in the evenings to qualify in company law and accounting. In 1989, at the age of 26, he joined the Press as a trainee as company secretary, but made hundreds of other more experienced candidates. He served during the war as a captain in the Intelligence Corps, including two years in Burma cracking enemy codes, and then returned to PA as chief accountant.

He soon became assistant general manager, and then financial director, of both the PA-Reuters photo and features companies. He was keen to grow the growth of the PA empire, and realised that improving the speed and accuracy with which

results were reported was the key to staying ahead of the competition. He concentrated his efforts into this task, and it paid off handsomely in the 1950 general election.

He saw that computers would hold the key to information communication, and for the 1966 general election introduced one, which had to be housed in another building because of its size. Not only was a mass of factual information available about the candidates, the parties, previous majorities and results, but for the first time the country could learn of swings and forecasts at the touch of a button.

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Death Notices

CURSON, Professor from New's children and grandchildren are very sad to announce the unexpected but peaceful passing of "Pops" on 10th May. His cremation will take place at 2.30pm on 20th May and Honor Oak Crematorium, London SE23.

DAWSON, Geraldine Alice ("Gert") aged 85, free thinker and socialist. She was survived by her wife, daughter and son David.

Brian Higgins

Ernest James Harvey, accountant, born February 15, 1913; died April 22, 1998

ous struggle against cancer, on May 11th at Penderiside Hospice, Burnley, Lancashire. Justice, compassion and a tireless love of life were her guiding principles, and her life will be celebrated at Heptonstall Church, West Yorkshire on Saturday, May 16th at 9.45 am, and for close friends and family, a cremation at Burnley to follow. Donations to Penderiside Hos-

[illegible]

IN AN article on Page 4 of the Guide, May 9, we said, "The

CORRECTION to a correction: Gregory Peck played a gentile journalist passing himself off as Jewish in the film, *Gentleman's Agreement*.

and spin, Monday to Friday. Surface mail to Readers' Editor, The Guardian, 119, Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Fax: 0171 239 9897. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk

RIVER TEES, BARNARD CASTLE: We were engrossed in watching the one-sided dogfight overhead. A carrion crow had taken a fancy to the kestrel because it had intruded too close to its nest, and the crow was pursuing it relentlessly just above the tree tops. The kestrel effortlessly dodged every dive and lunge with a subtle warp of wing or tail feathers, and the scree of the harassment and the soaring away. Then something made us both turn and look behind, just in time to catch a glimpse of a buck roe deer crossing the path 20 yards behind us, gingerly picking its way over the boulders on the green river

ank until it disappeared
rom view. Half a minute
ater it reappeared, swim-
ning against the current,
eassing three goosander
itting on a flat, water-worn
oulder in mid-stream, and
clambering out onto the far
ank. It shook itself and was
momentarily enveloped in
an aura of silver as the
water droplets caught the
unlight, then set off up the
ank and through the
rambles. A nuthatch whis-
tling in the branches of the
ak above us caught my at-
ention, and when I looked
back across the river, I
saw a pair of the deep shad-
ows between the trees. Down
n the river a dipper bobbed
n the current, dying to feed

in the gravelly river bed, and the goosanders — two chestnut-headed females and a male resplendent in glossy green, white and black breeding plumage — settled back on their rock. A peacock butterfly landed on my rucksack, turned its back to the low early morning sun and spread its wings. We'd come here with the intention of taking a longer walk upriver to Cotherrstone, but suddenly just sitting here in the sun, breathing the hyacinth scent of bluebells and waiting to see wind the reeds and come next, seemed a much better idea.

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[illegible]

earnings growth
Job bo

**Britain's oil
put back in**

RAC'S over

MEMBERS OF THE RAIL union are considering what to do to force the railroad companies to support the national passenger transportation law.

The members are planning to join the movement to elect a senator from the railroad belt to the U.S. Senate.

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
Telephone: 0171-239-9610
Fax: 0171-833-4456

FinanceGuardian

'Earnings growth must fall' declares Bank as unemployment drops Job boom points to rate rise

Larry Elliott
and Charlotte Denny

STRONG signs that five years of falling unemployment is igniting wage inflation drew a stark warning from the Bank of England yesterday that interest rates may have to rise again this year.

The Bank reacted sharply to official figures showing that big bonus payments from firms to prevent workers leaving had pushed growth in pay to its highest level since 1982. Average earnings growth in the 12 months to February rose to 4.9 per cent, from 4.5 per cent the previous month, the Office for National Statistics said.

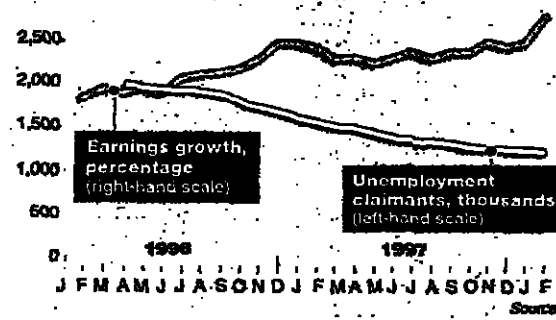
"Today's figures were unexpectedly high," said Mervyn King, the Bank's deputy governor. "These rates of earnings growth will have to fall."

He told a press conference that the Government could not hope to meet its 2.5 per cent inflation target if wage inflation stayed at this level.

Yesterday's labour market figures showed the jobless total is continuing to fall on both the measures used by the Government. The number of people out of work and claiming benefit fell by 17,700 in April to stand at 1,356,100, the lowest level since July 1980. The rate is down 0.1 percentage points to 4.8 per cent.

Measured by the numbers of people looking for work — the standard international definition — unemployment

Earnings and unemployment



was down 33,000 in the first three months of 1998 to 1,980,000, the lowest figure since the Government started collecting figures in this way in 1984. The rate using this

method is 6.4 per cent. Labour shortages mean employers are giving work to the two groups targeted by the Government's New Deal programme. The number of 18 to 24-year-olds on the dole for more than six months has dropped by almost 50,000 to 120,000 in the past year, and there was a drop of 131,000 to 194,000 in those aged over 25 who have been out of work for more than two years.

The balance of opinion on the Bank's monetary policy committee has swung in favour of keeping rates on hold, according to the minutes of their April meeting, published yesterday. After two months in which the committee has been evenly split on whether another rise in rates was needed to quell inflation, the minutes confirmed speculation that Professor Charles Goodhart had joined the doves producing a clear 5:3 majority for leaving rates at 7.25 per cent.

Although the committee is expecting underlying inflation to rise in the short term to 3 per cent, it will be close to the government's target over the next two years, according to yesterday's forecast. But Mr King said the rapid slide in sterling and the jump in average earnings since the report had been finished meant the committee could be forced into putting rates up again.

The introduction of the minimum wage next April could force the Bank into putting up rates, according to the inflation report. "To the extent that inflationary pressure is increased, monetary policy will have to be tighter than would otherwise be the case to meet the prescribed inflation target," it says.

Notebook

The nasty taste of some buy-outs



Lisa Buckingham

ALIED Domecq may not be the stock market's most dynamic operator, but something is wrong when its former offshoot, the Tetley teabags business, is now worth twice as much as the management paid just three years back.

It is not, after all, as though tea drinking has suddenly acquired a whole new dimension of appeal. In fact, the British are rapidly exchanging their love of a cuppa for a mug of instant Nescafe or a cappuccino.

The explanation does not lie wholly with any ineptitude in Allied's disposals technique. Other management buyouts — look at MFI, Compass, Newquest or Allied Carpets — have achieved similarly quick and spectacular increases in value.

There are only two reasons for such impressive increases — and neither has anything to do with such gliblylook as management focus, lighter bureaucracy or a liberated executive.

The first suggests the company was wrongly valued in the first place while it was part of the larger stable; the second that, once the carrot of huge lucrative share options are dangled under their noses, managers suddenly start working far more effectively than they did for their former masters.

Either way shareholders lose out — they get paid too little when the business is sold to its management and they have to pay the executives too much when they buy their way back in at flotation.

Bank fears

HAWKS and doves at the Bank of England must have breathed a sigh of relief as sterling crept back above DM2.90 yesterday.

Manufacturers will have found fewer reasons to cheer. Sterling is still some 25 per cent above its August 1996 level and the damage to the export sector is starting to show up in a widening trade deficit.

But the Bank's monetary policy committee is worried that a plummeting pound will rekindle domestic inflation, which is being kept in check by the high value of sterling. To keep inflation under control, the committee is ready to see factories cutting output and jobs, even though it is the strength of other sectors of the economy — notably consumer spending — which is threatening the inflation target.

Yesterday's warning from the Bank that interest rates may go up again, if sterling falls too far, too fast, exposes the problem at the heart of current macro policy arrangements. The Bank runs monetary policy, while the Treasury has its foot on the fiscal pedal.

The Treasury argues that the optimum for public borrowing, which is lower than expected, is a sign of how tight fiscal policy is. But as the April MPC minutes warn, it could simply be a sign that activity is stronger than anticipated.

Self-fulfilling

NOT so long ago the investment tactics of George Soros and his Quantum fund were a closely-guarded secret. Now the guru who became famous as the man who broke the Bank of England cannot throw as much as a penny into the investment pond without a megaphonic announcement. And a reputation for shrewdness collects disciples whose weighty following means bets can quickly become self-fulfilling.

When that other investment maestro, Warren Buffett, moves into a stock, so do coattail buyers whose action pumps up the share price and provides the gain about which Mr Buffett had been so prescient.

The money markets have largely shrugged off Mr Soros' latest \$8 billion gamble that sterling has peaked. Despite yesterday's suggestion that a cut in interest rates might be delayed, most foreign exchange dealers already have their money alongside Mr Soros.

A high profile in the investment world can, however, be double-edged. Carol Galle, the dominatrix of Mercury Asset Management, and Tony Dye, who heads PFM, have both discovered how intensely uncomfortable the limelight can be when the Midas touch disappears.

The safe way?

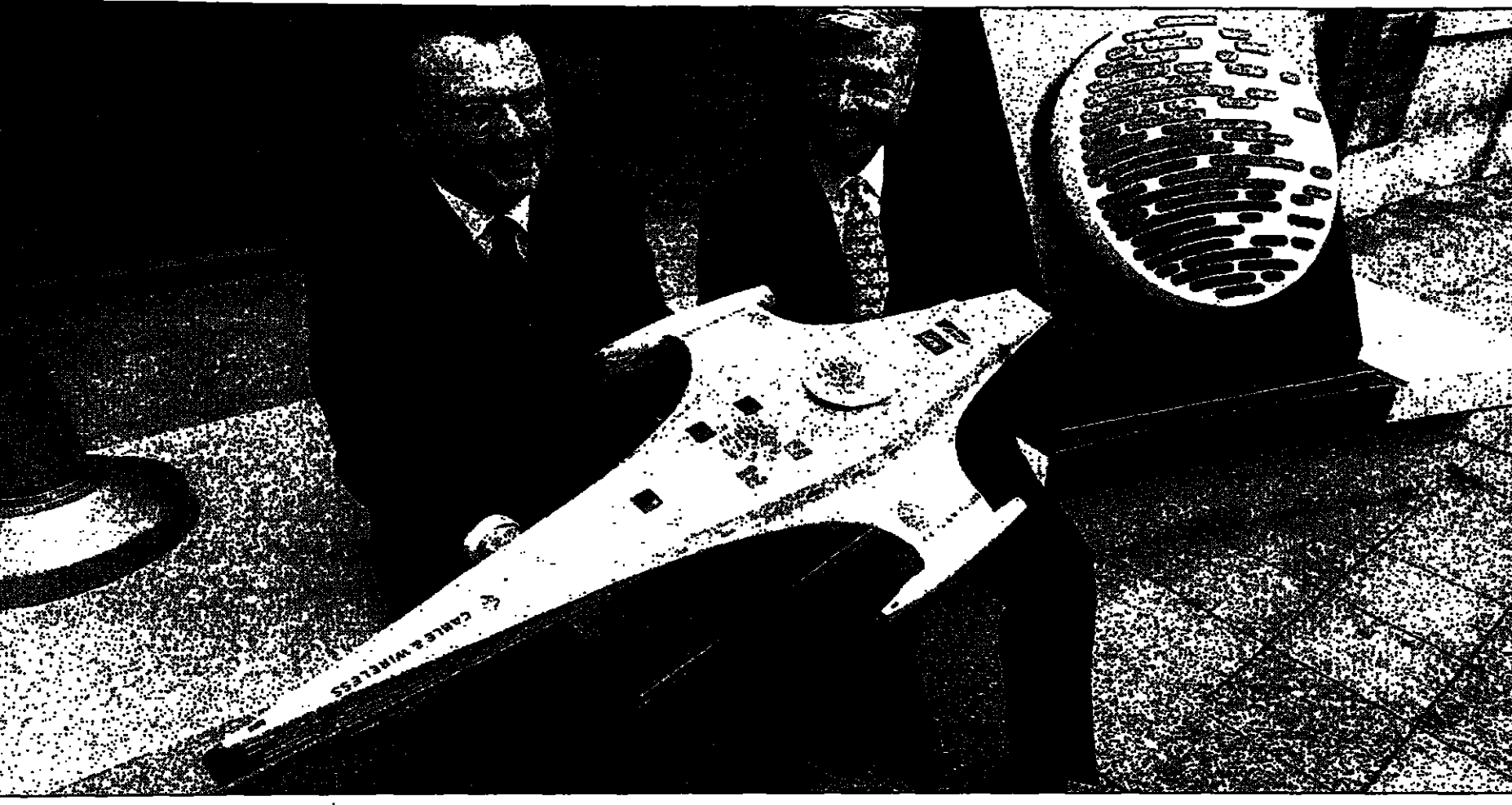
SAFEWAY demonstrated yesterday it is not the nasty of the supermarket industry it has sometimes seemed over the past year, but it also showed it is not the irresistible takeover target some would have us believe.

The chain's current sales performance put the figures reported last week by Sainsbury into the shade. But the price at which those sales have been bought is reflected in Sainsbury's plunging profits.

Sainsbury has had to spend heavily — on measures such as the revamped ABC loyalty scheme and on extra staff, which is described euphemistically as "investment" but is in fact extra cost.

Sainsbury, on the other hand, seems to have opted for profits at the expense of sluggish sales, while Tesco and Asda continue to power ahead, ploughing the benefits of extra sales into improved prices and services.

Asda and Sainsbury would clearly love to get together to match the benefits of scale of the two leaders. But there



Dick Brown, Cable and Wireless chief executive (right) and Robert Lerwill, executive finance director, with a model of the Adventurer which is sponsored by the company in an attempt to break the round-the-world record for a motorised vessel. The company yesterday announced a 13 per cent leap in pre-tax profits to \$1.42 billion. PHOTOGRAPH MARTIN ANGLER

Britain's old weights are put back in the balance

Rupert Jones
and Colin Weston

WITH little more than 18 months to go until pounds and ounces are due to disappear from the high streets, ministers are fighting a rearguard action to win dispensation to keep imperial measurements alongside the metric system after December 31, 1999. He said he was "very sympathetic" to the idea of the two systems running in tandem for up to 10 years.

Under current European Union law, shops will not be able to sell loose food such as fruit and vegetables in pounds and ounces from 2000. Packaged food is already sold by the metric system.

The only items which will



still be sold in imperial measurements will be pints of milk and draught beer and cider, though it seems inconceivable that a pound of butter will ever be known as anything other than a pound of butter. The chances of a quarter-pounder being rechristened a ninth-of-a-kilogrammer also seem remote.

Mr Griffiths said: "We are in discussions at commission level. They are aware of our concerns." Metrication, he added, had been "the sin which dared not speak its name" under the previous government.

The minister made his promise after a government task force said time was running out if the December 1999 deadline was to be met. Peter Salisbury, managing director of Marks & Spencer and a member of the Better Regulation Task Force advisory group, said there needed to be a programme of consumer information and education ahead of any change.

"They [the Government] need to clarify their intended application of the European directive. What we are urging them to do is say what they want and do it as quickly as possible so consumers can get used to it."

The task force called for more simplification of consumer law which in many areas was too old and too complex to be effective.

Chrysler chiefs' \$1bn bonanza

Mark Tran in New York

TOP Chrysler executives will earn one of the biggest bonanzas in corporate history with a payout of up to \$1 billion (€500 million) if its merger with Daimler-Benz is approved.

They will be able to use their options to buy shares in the merged group almost immediately, according to documents filed with Wall Street watchdog, the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Normally executives are forced to wait a minimum of a year before they are allowed to convert options into shares, in order to encourage them to improve the company's performance.

Chrysler said about 2,100 managers hold options in the company. The top five are set for about a fifth of the total.

Moreover, any of Chrysler's top 30 executives who lose their jobs as a result of the deal will be entitled to a

multi-million dollar payment. These so-called "golden parachute" provisions date back to Chrysler's 1985 takeover battle with corporate raider Kirk Kerkorian, the company's largest shareholder.

Chrysler chairman Robert Eaton could get more than \$100 million in Daimler-Benz shares.

Last week he brushed aside the idea that the prospect of a huge payout had encouraged him to enter talks with Daimler. "My personal situation never came to my mind," he said. "We are trying to create the leading auto company in the world for the future of all our stakeholders."

However, Carol Bowie, research director at consulting firm Executive Compensation Advisory Services, told the Wall Street Journal: "What we have today are friendly mergers in which millions of dollars are pouring out of the companies into the hands of executives, who are in some cases making the decisions to merge."

Tetley duo set for £15m tea break

Julie Treasurer

TETLEY, the company which pioneered the round tea-bag, is poised to make at least two of its top directors multi-millionaires after a £400 million stock market flotation this summer.

Leon Allen, group chairman, and Roger Price, group finance director, could share £15 million.

Other senior directors are expected to join the millionaires club, although Mr Allen and Mr Price are thought to be the largest individual shareholders with an estimated joint 6 per cent stake.

The two spearheaded the £200 million buy-out of Tetley from Allied Domecq in July 1995, which was financed by a consortium led by PFM Ventures, the venture capital firm. In the three years since, Tetley's profits have increased from £10.7 million to £41.1 million.

In total, some 250 of Tetley's 1,700 employees own 22 per cent of the company, which is now the market leader in the UK with approximately one in four tea drinkers. It also sells the Quickbrek brand as well as fruit and herbal teas. Tetley is the market leader in Canada.

Shares will be sold to institutional investors in the UK, continental Europe and the US, as well as private investors in the UK. It predicts significant growth in demand for tea-bags, particularly in Poland, Russia, China and India.

Outside the UK, Tetley is also known for its coffee. In the US, Tetley sells Hispanic and Italian-style espresso coffee which Stella Coulthurst, Tetley's director of corporate development, describes as a "sugar shot", unsuitable for the British palate.

RAC's overseas members rev up for pay-out

JULIA FINCH on the gathering storm over 'pompous' Pail Mall club's stance

MEMBERS of the RAC are considering legal action to force the motoring organisation to extend its windfall payouts to overseas subscribers.

These members are the latest to join the scramble for a share in the hand-out, following the RAC's decision to sell its breakdown and driving school operations for £450 million.

Twelve thousand members of the RAC's gentlemen's club in Pall Mall are in line to receive cheques

for £25,000 each now the club has accepted a bid from the US hotels and car hire group Centara.

But there has been a rush of claims from former members and existing ones who believe they are not getting a big enough share.

The move by overseas members comes days after RAC life members claimed they should get a much larger share. These have calculated that they should be receiving up to £700,000 per head while annual

members should get a greatly reduced pay-out. Others want the pay-outs to be linked to length of membership. One overseas member, who has been an RAC member for 20 years but is now based in Brussels, said: "I am told there will be no pay-out to overseas members and I want to change that."

"The RAC board probably think we are so far removed that we cannot do anything. But they will be surprised. People tend to speak with one voice when it comes to money."

David Worswick, a spokesman for the RAC board, said the organisation had

not yet decided whether to exclude overseas members. "We are taking legal advice. We have got to clarify the position and will do so before the formal offer is sent to members within the next two or three weeks."

He pointed out that the overseas members paid half the annual £600-a-year subscriptions and had no voting rights.

However, a European-based member said that initial legal advice suggested that overseas members had only to provide a UK address to be reinstated automatically as full members, and should therefore get a pay-out.

He said he should not be penalised for having retired abroad. "I now spend most of my time in Africa but I still pay my RAC fees. The people who run this club are so pompous. They are supposed to be gentlemen but they are not."

The RAC would not be the first organisation in the process of demutualisation to run into problems with overseas members. Some 100,000 at the Halifax are threatening the building-society-turned-bank with legal action because they were deprived of free shares when it floated on the stock market last year.

Lib Dem call for stores inquiry

Mark Tran in New York

TOP Chrysler executives look set to earn one of the biggest bonanzas in corporate history with a payout of up to \$1 billion (€500 million) if the company's merger with Daimler-Benz is approved.

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TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.52	Germany 2.92	Malaysia 6.27	Singapore 2.85
Austria 13.82	Greece 482.20	Malta 6.62	South Africa 8.07
Belgium 22.12	Hong Kong 12.28	Netherlands 3.16	Spain 227.35
Canada 2.26	India 54.58	New Zealand 2.87	Sweden 12.20
Cyprus 0.83	Ireland 1.19	Norway 11.82	Switzerland 2.34
Denmark 10.84	Israel 5.00	Portugal 287.84	Turkey 285.760
Finland 6.80	Italy 2.500	Saudi Arabia 8.01	USA 1.5951
France 5.45			

Supplied by Reuters (including rupee, shilling and taitai)

Football: Nationwide League play-offs, second leg

Sunderland 2 Sheffield United 0 (agg: 3-2)

Phillips head lights way to Wembley

George Caulkin

AS THE final whistle sounded there were the inevitable tears and cheers but the overriding emotion among the vast majority of the fiercely partisan crowd was a sense of blessed relief that the promotion hopes of the most exciting Sunderland team for the best part of a generation were somehow still alive.

This being Wearside it was anything but a straightforward victory and after one of the most dominant first-half performances the play-offs can ever have produced, Peter Reid's team crumbled under the weight of the tension. And 18 minutes from the end only the reactions of Lee Clark, who equalised, and the promotion hopes of the most exciting Sunderland team for the best part of a generation were somehow still alive.

But Sunderland survived, just helped along the way by a Kevin Phillips goal — a flashing header diverting a hot-shot from Nicky Sumner — that equalised Brian Clough's post-war club record of 34 in a season.

Bramall Lane had been 6,000 under capacity on Sunday and last night United could only sell two-thirds of their ticket allocation. Those who were not affected by apathy made up for the absence with plenty of noise, though.

With the attacking left-back Michael Gray back in the fold following a three-game suspension, Sunderland were an altogether more balanced proposition and that, allied to the non-appearance of Vassilis Borbokis, a scorer and a creator in the first leg, ensured it was from that flank that United were nearly consumed by an early swarm of red-and-white shirts.

Shots from Summerbee, Alan Johnston and Phillips — the latter a rasping 20-yard volley which Simon Tracey did well to punch clear — all threatened to open the floodgates, although the wait for goals was not to extend too much longer.

Twenty rather one-sided minutes had elapsed when a harmless-looking shot from Johnston, on the left corner of the area, came into contact with the unfortunate Nicky Marker, tricked on to the post and into the net.

Then, in a breathless 120-second spell from the 35th minute, Phillips created his own piece of club history. Johnston hit the post and a Niall Quinn header was beaten away by the keeper.

It was impressive, heart-pumping, irresistible stuff and United had their work cut out simply hanging on; a wayward shot from Saunders was their sole first-half effort.

The celebrations could not begin in earnest, however, for just as on Sunday the Blades emerged for the second half in a considerably changed frame of mind. With Saunders ever in the thick of things there was little inclination to relax, although the desperate edge to their play was hardly conducive to quality football.

Sunderland (4-4-2): Perez; Holloway, Craddock, Williams, Gray, Summerbee, Wilder, Hamilton, Ford (Duffy, 71), W. Quinn, Saunders, Morris (Morris, 80), Saunders, Devlin.

Sheffield United (3-4-3): Tracey; Hoddson, Merson (Bent, 52), Sandford, Hamilton, Ford (Duffy, 71), W. Quinn, Saunders, Morris (Morris, 80), Saunders, Devlin.



Eyes down... Ian Hamilton launches a tackle on Lee Clark of Sunderland last night

PHOTOGRAPH: SHAWN BOTTLETT

Charlton 1 Ipswich 0 (aggregate: 2-0)

Newton's force ensures a happy Valley

Trevor Haylett

CHARLTON might be considered a trifle premature in beginning work to expand The Valley in anticipation of Premiership football, but the team have unshakeable belief and an opportunity to perform last night sent them to Wembley and left them one game away from reclaiming the top-tier place they lost in 1990.

Having lost the first game, Ipswich feared the worst because Alan Curshisley's side had not conceded a goal in their previous eight outings. Shaun Newton's first-half

effort gave them a degree of comfort and broke the spirit of an Ipswich side who have now bowed out at this stage in two successive seasons.

The atmosphere before the start was several degrees lower than at Purton Road in the first game. This was probably less a sign that Charlton felt they had one foot inside Wembley than deliberate noise management bearing in mind the younger elements in the Ipswich side had been inhibited by the tension of three days before.

A back injury cost Charlton the services of Clive Mendonça whose goals had been instrumental in them advancing

ing this far while Ipswich left out Jamie Clapham whose own-goal on Sunday had divided the teams.

The first leg had degenerated into an increasingly fractious contest littered with bookings and the dismissal of Charlton's full-back Danny Mills but by showing a yellow card after the first serious foul Eric Wolstenholme established order.

The creative figures in the Ipswich midfield were into the game more quickly this time but after Kieron Dyer had sent one blistering drive just over the bar, the home side began to threaten.

Two supreme saves low

down left Mark Bright curving the Ipswich goalkeeper back at an end.

Ipswich pressed for all their worth in the second half but Charlton are not used to conceding goals and behind a compact, organised defence Sasa Ilic always seemed to take up the right positions.

Johnson nodded one opportunity straight at him and then saw the goalkeeper well placed to smother his low shot.

Had Neil Heaney been able to send over a decent cross, Charlton might well have

gone into the interval with hopes of an Ipswich comeback at an end.

Ipswich pressed for all their worth in the second half but Charlton are not used to conceding goals and behind a compact, organised defence Sasa Ilic always seemed to take up the right positions.

Johnson nodded one opportunity straight at him and then saw the goalkeeper well placed to smother his low shot.

Rapid Beckham promotion held up as the target for wannabes

Lawrie Madden in Toulon

ONE of Glenn Hoddle's first acts as the England coach two years ago was to take in the Toulon Under-21 tournament. On his visit he was so impressed by the performance of David Beckham that he immediately promoted the Manchester United youngster to the England first team and the rest, as they say, is history.

So when the England Under-21 manager Peter Taylor told his latest crop of wannabes yesterday to use this year's tournament as an international springboard he had all the evidence he needed to support his case.

Paul Gascoigne, Darren Anderton, Graeme Le Saux, Alan Shearer, Jamie Redknapp, Steve McManus and Robbie Fowler have also gone on from appearances here to secure places in England's senior squad.

Taylor, the first full-time manager appointed by England at this level, said: "I think, and hope, that the players realise that for them to get into the seniors we want them to have the Under-21 education first."

"They have just got to keep it going and set themselves higher targets. Playing in Toulon against foreign opposition of the quality of Brazil and Argentina is experience you can't get anywhere else."

England meet Argentina on Monday in Marseilles and then playing France in Nimes today and South Africa in Aubagne on Saturday. The second group comprises Brazil, Germany, China and Portugal. The final is on May 23.

The weather is proving a problem with the temperature touching 30C yesterday. At least Taylor will be able to report back to Hoddle on the effects, as England start their World Cup campaign against Tunisia in five weeks' time in Marseille, only 60 miles away.

The Guardian Thursday May 14 1998

Patrick Glenn finds only mild surprise as Scotland's World Cup 22 prepare to go west

No room for sentiment or McCoist

SCOTLAND'S World Cup squad announced yesterday by Craig Brown brought contrasting fortune for two thirds of the players who have hardly played this season.

The Rangers striker Ally McCoist was omitted and the Celtic full-back Tosh McKinlay was included.

The only other mild surprise in the 22 who will cross the Atlantic next week to prepare for France with matches against Colombia, in New York on May 23, and the United States in Washington seven days later, were the absence of Aberdeen's Eoin Jess who can play in midfield or attack and the Rangers midfielder Stuart McCall.

McCoist had enjoyed a purple patch when recalled by Rangers in March and scored five goals, resuscitating his prospects of making the finals. After four months short of his 30th birthday, he was unable to sustain the form and his international career is surely over. He made his debut against Holland in 1996 and scored 19 goals in 59 appearances.

"We know what Ally has done for us in the past, but I had to pick a squad that was appropriate," said the manager who has selected David Jackson and Scott Booth to back up his first-choice goalkeeper of Kevin Gallacher and Gordon Durie.

"McCoist and his club-mate McCall were in similar positions," Brown added. "Both have done well for us. We like to be loyal, but not foolishly so."

feature in four World Cup finals; Andy Gorman and Wimble's Neil Sullivan, who held out the challenge of Celtic's Jonathan Gould, are the other goalkeepers.

"This squad is much better than the one we took to England for Euro 96," said Brown. Paul Lambert had not been heard of in the context of a Scotland player in the holding role in midfield, now he is brilliant at it. Gallacher had had injury problems and was nothing like the prolific goalscorer he is now. Duffy wasn't with us and John Collins has been two years at Monaco and is a much better player.

"The older players such as Hendry, Boyd and Colin Calderwood and Leighton and Gorman have lost nothing in that period so the squad is altogether much improved."

Brown will get as close as possible in the United States to the team who will open the World Cup finals against the champions Brazil at the Stade de France on June 10, but said he is not certain to start either match with that eleven.

"The exercise in the US will be to help the players remain match fit and to tinker with some of the things. But at some stage in one of the games the team for Brazil will be on the field. I'm just not saying what it is at the moment."

The squad

Gorman (Rangers)
Leighton (Aberdeen)
Sullivan (Wimbledon)
Boyd (Celtic)
Calderwood (Tottenham)
Ellis (Leicester)
Hendry, capt (Blackburn)
Weir (Hearts)
Whyte (Aberdeen)
T. McKinlay (Celtic)
Booth (Blackburn)
Collins (Monaco)
Gerrard (Nottm For)
Lambert (Celtic)
W. McKinlay (Blackburn)
McManus (Blackburn)
Shearer (Manchester)
Dounie (Celtic)
Duffy (Rangers)
Gallacher (Blackburn)
Jackson (Celtic)

Villa reject Kluivert

Peter White

ASTON VILLA have dropped plans to sign Patrick Kluivert after discovering it would cost a staggering £18 million for the Dutch striker.

Villa's manager John Gregory was keen to buy Kluivert from Milan, who are demanding a £12 million fee while the player is seeking \$5 million in wages over four years.

"I find the whole business obscene and want nothing to do with it," Gregory said. "It is sheer greed, and Milan are as greedy because they signed Kluivert for nothing a year ago under the Bosman ruling. I am becoming very suspicious about foreign players, many of whom remind me of football gypsies because of their willingness to move around for more and more money."

Pierluigi Casiraghi's planned move to Chelsea from Lazio, who want \$5 million for him, yesterday moved a step closer. "It's not 100 per cent sure that I'll be playing in England but I think that is how it's going to finish," the 29-year-old striker said. "I don't fit in with Lazio's plans, so it's only right that I should make my choice."

Sheffield Wednesday have released the 35-year-old Steve Nicol and sent the on-loan striker Christian Mayrle back to FC Tyrol.

Juventus will meet Real Madrid in the European Cup final at the Amsterdam Arena on May 20 after Schiphol airport was granted extra late-night landing rights for chartered flights.

Saudi Arabia, who face England at Wembley on Saturday week, drew 1-1 with Iceland yesterday.

COLOMBIA World Cup squad: O. Cordoba, Celso, Mondragon, Moreno, Torres, Santa, Bermudez, Cordeiro, Pineda, Perez, Bolano, Lozano, Rincon, Aristizabal, Velez, Gomez, Estrada, Aguirre, De Avila, Valencia, Praxedo, Ricardo.

Waddle says he quit Burnley not given more money to strengthen the team. "You never know — I might not be here next season," he said. "The club are around \$15 million in debt and face a 30-day deadline to pay Manchester United the £2 million they owe them for Karel Poborsky."

Fort Vale's coach Ray Graydon is expected to be named as Walsall manager in succession to Jan Sorensen. Nottingham Forest have given the French utility player Thierry Bonalair a new one-year contract and Swindon have signed the 29-year-old Welsh defender Gareth Hall from Sunderland on a free transfer.

Results

Football

EUROPEAN CUP WINNERS' CUP

Final
Walsley (1) 30.216

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE

PLAY-OFFS

Semi-finals, second leg

First Division

Charlton 1 Ipswich 0 (agg: 2-0)

Second Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Third Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Fourth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Fifth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Sixth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Seventh Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Eighth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Ninth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Tenth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Eleventh Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Twelfth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Thirteenth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Fourteenth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Fifteenth Division

Sheff Wed 1 (agg: 2-1)

Tennis

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Hockey

ATLANTIC OPEN (Rome): Second round: W. Kiefer (Ger) 6-4, 6-2, 6-0; J. Krieger (Austria) 6-4, 6-2, 6-0; J. Krieger (Austria) 6-4, 6-2, 6-0; J. Krieger (Austria) 6-4, 6-2, 6-0.

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ATLANTIC OPEN (Rome): Second round: W. Kiefer (Ger) 6-4, 6-2, 6

The Guardian Thursday May 14 1998

Tennis

Henman humbled by Rios

Stephen Barley in Rome

FOR anyone who supposed Tim Henman, by virtue of beating Fabrice Santoro of France in the first round, had suddenly discovered the key to playing on clay, the truth came swiftly and dramatically on the Centre Court of the Foro Italico yesterday.

Marcelo Rios, who has played only three matches since injuring his elbow after winning the Lipton Championship in March, blew the British No. 2 away in under an hour, his 6-3, 6-1 victory in no way exaggerating the difference in class.

"I don't really feel I have found my best rhythm yet," said Rios, who by beating Andre Agassi in Key Biscayne briefly shunted Pete Sampras from the world No. 1 spot.

Henman has lost his first meeting against Rios in Miami, going down 6-2, 4-6, 6-0 in the semi-finals of the Lipton. He must have taken some residual encouragement into this match after winning a set under the Florida sun, but once again he faded just as he was about to complete it.

Rios made the point that he was as unsure on grass as Henman probably was on clay. What he did not say was that last year he reached the last 16 at Wimbledon at the second attempt, while Henman has lost both his matches at the French Open.

The great British excuse that clay is virtually impossible to play on just will not do, either from Henman or Greg Rusedski. Both should be

capable of adjusting much better.

The way Henman capitulated in the second set was not a pretty sight. "It's not a match I'm going to dwell on," he said, and added: "My learning curve on clay has been fast, but it would be asking a lot to beat Marcelo on a surface he has been brought up on."

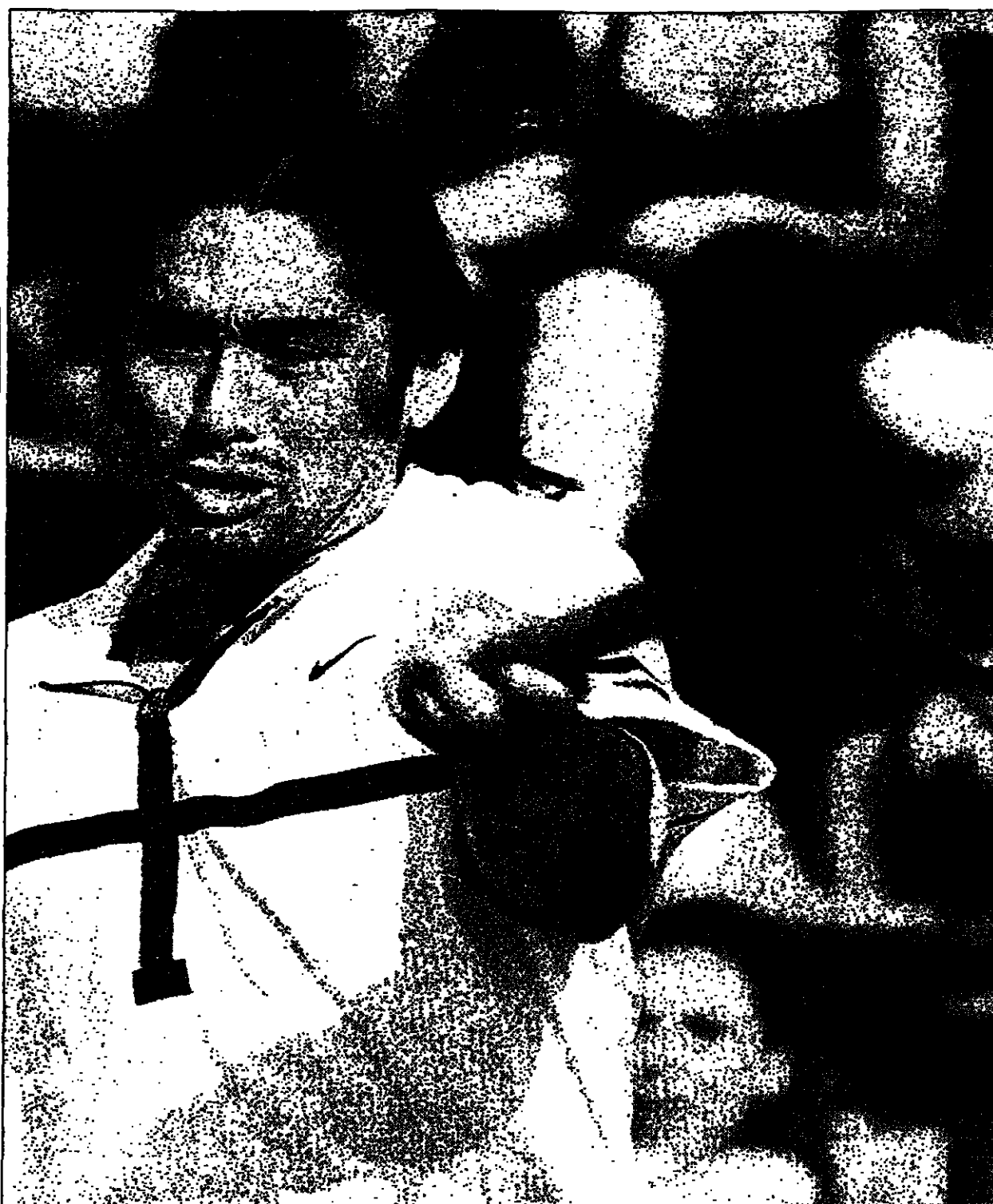
The evidence of Henman's learning curve is scant: three wins in seven matches at Monte Carlo, Munich, Hamburg and here. But he claims to feel more comfortable on the surface, and believes he is constructing his rallies better. Roland Garros will be the acid test.

Rios, the runner-up here last year, is the David Gower of tennis. He hits the ball with such immaculate timing that some shots appear to take no effort whatsoever. Yet the ball races past his opponents as if followed by a rushing wind.

Henman's plan, reasonably enough, was to clamber all over the Chilean from the start. Indeed he engineered a break point on Rios's first serve, but squandered it with a flabby forehand. Such errors were to multiply as the match progressed.

Pete Sampras won 7-6, 6-4 against Magnus Norman, the young Swede who put him out of the French Open last year, while the reigning Italian champion, Spain's Alex Corretja, was beaten 3-6, 7-6, 6-4 by Karim Alami of Morocco.

"The man playing the best tennis on clay now will win the French Open," said Russia's Yevgeny Kafelnikov, the Paris champion two years ago, who defeated Todd Martin of the United States after losing the first set 6-1. The best it could be Rios.



Blowing hot from Chile... Marcelo Rios fires off a forehand in his win over Tim Henman. PHOTOGRAPH: CLAUDIO ONORATI

SPORTS NEWS 15

Nothing New for Boks' favourite sons



Frank Keating

A CALLOW Turk sighed in the office this week and cursed the sacrifice of cruel and thoughtless modernity, which continued its destructive ravage "of all the great old time-honoured traditions".

"It's tragic," he said. "This year's cricket tourists aren't being allowed to begin their journey with the time-honoured one-day pipe-opener against the dower." The Duchess of Norfolk's XI at pastoral Arundel, but are starting with a three-day at Worcester beginning on Thursday. The South Africans don't get to Arundel Hill Sunday, so it won't be the same, will it?"

At home, it was really no fun to tell the poor, well-meaning sprog that as far as tradition goes the sabbath 40-over bun-fight for tourists at Arundel is an upstart thing, a dolled-up rogue fixture of occasional annual whim. The genuine article of faith in any sense for Transvaal is that the South Africans announce themselves alongside the Severn and in the shadow of St Peter's ancient tower, as they will today.

Next year the tradition will celebrate its mellow three-score years and ten — and, nicely, it was the South Africans who first established it when, on a whim, "Nummy" Deane's Springbok tourists made their bow in April 1929.

A reasonable crowd turned up to welcome Deane's men despite the fact that only the Australian tourists then were considered the seriously big draw in cricket, so Lord's also allowed Worcester to host the "Hill" to the following year's tourists from down under. So if the South Africans began the custom of starting at New Road, then the mercurial Australian Don Bradman cemented it. Ushering in his successive tours of 1930, 1934 and 1938, he rattled off 236, 206 and 258 on the green, green winter-flooded grass. Thus the romance of starting at Worcester, with its fruit orchards in dazzling blossom, had become indelibly synonymous with the beginnings of summer by the time Bradman returned half a

century ago, in his 40th year, and made only 107.

Be in place early this morning for the fielding practice because, with South Africans, it goes without saying that their outfielding will be exciting and glisteningly sharp. We ranked here in Tuscan cheered on hearing that Jonty Rhodes had again made the tour. The quicksilver sprite on the fringes of the square was an utter joy last time, and he remains here in a regular line headed still by the one and only Colin Bland from the 1960s.

"Nummy" Deane was so called because on losing a finger in his youth he brushed off the pain as well as the loss by simply shrugging. "It's not that bad," he said. "I can't even feel numb." Even so he was a terrific cover fieldman by all accounts, especially alongside "my two terriers", the zestful Jonty-like gymnasts Tuppy Owen-Smith and Bob Catterall. The former stayed on to win Oxford blues at cricket, boxing and rugby (at which he also captained England), but his 1929 compatriot in the covers, Catterall, was not only considered a fieldman on the field but also a first-class batsman with the Australian "Nip" Pel-lew, but was more of an all-round sport than even Owen-Smith.

He not only captained Natal at cricket but in his travels he also won full representative caps for Transvaal, Orange Free State and Rhodesia at, variously, soccer, hockey, tennis, swimming, shooting, golf, billiards and baseball. As well, Ian Peebles played against him on the MCC tour of 1927-28 and noted in his memoirs: "Catterall was the most accomplished I ever heard of on the ukulele."

WAS an urchin who thrilled to South Africa's star of 1947, Tony Harris was predatory, electric and always smiling. He preferred fielding — "I was a cricket and fast as a rabbit", J. A. R. to the caves of Test match batting, and he was the talk of every town that golden summer, for he knew he'd been as well as an RAF Spitfire ace (bailing out to be taken POW), was also the Springbok rugby fly-half, and had (the tour booklet said) shot his first man-eating lion at five, wrestled (and won) against a croc at 10, and even before he left school in Kimberley had starred for his province not only at cricket and rugby but soccer, swimming, golf, squash and tennis.

But he was tops at fielding. South Africans usually are. As your first find out — at Worcester.

Hingis longs for home as all the president's men act up

Richard Jago in Berlin

MARTINA HINGIS lost out to Bill Clinton for occupancy of the presidential suite at the Intercontinental Hotel here and suffered an ill omen when her rival Iva Majoli won a draw for an executive suite.

It then became the kind of day to disturb even Hingis's concentration. Clinton's presence caused the

hotel front door to be blocked, the street to be jammed, and armed police to patrol the roofs.

"There was so much going on, what with the CIA around for occupancy of the presidential suite at the Intercontinental Hotel here and suffered an ill omen when her rival Iva Majoli won a draw for an executive suite.

It then became the kind of day to disturb even Hingis's concentration. Clinton's presence caused the

go home. That, though, is because she has had a long stint on clay. "When I'm home I don't like to practise, and now I'm tired in my third week my mum says 'that's what you wanted'. So now I'm here I have to enjoy it — though I don't," admitted the world No. 1, still with the regulation grin.

She next has a quarter-final with Majoli, who denied Hingis the chance to win all four Grand Slams by beating her in the

French Open final last year, and wants to prepare for her title defence the week after next by putting another one over her today.

However Mary Pierce's chances in her adopted home city may have been damaged. The sixth seed led by a set and 5-2 against the Austrian Barbara Paulus, then held two match points and still could not make it, quitting after four games of the third set with a thigh strain.

"I didn't want to call the

trainer because she would have realised she could win," Pierce said. She will take a few days' break before deciding whether or not she is in shape for the French Open.

Jana Novotna's brinkmanship was even more prolonged. She needed two hours and 36 minutes to get past another Austrian, Barbara Schett 1-6, 7-6, 7-6, letting slip six successive set points from 6-0 up in the tie-break in the second set. The third seed might

have lost in straight sets had not Schett's backhand drive on the next rally taken a net cord and dropped an inch wide, but still Novotna's capacity to turn a struggle into a crisis remained. Leading 4-1 in the final set she lost four games in a row and had to save four match points on her serve in the next game. "I found it difficult to settle down," Novotna admitted. With Clinton gone today everyone may find that easier.

Athletics

Jackson warns that domestic events risk being ignored

Duncan Mackay

COLIN JACKSON has warned that the country's leading athletes may be forced to miss the top meetings in Britain unless an agreement over who runs those meetings is announced within a few days.

A press conference scheduled for today in London to announce that the rights to promote Britain's four televised events had been bought by API from the administrators running the insolvent British Athletic Federation and Commonwealth Games.

"If they don't get a move on I won't be at the big meetings in Britain," said Jackson, the world record holder for the 110 metres hurdles. "I need to know what's going on. I've already told my agent to find

me meetings outside Britain; obviously I would like to compete in this country."

API, the company set up by the former international hurdler Alan Pascoe, has been trying to negotiate a deal with the administrators for more than five months, after the BAF was declared insolvent in October owing nearly £2 million.

API was granted exclusive rights to bid for the contract. It has already employed Ian Stewart, the former promotions officer of the BAF, to sign up athletes for the meetings. But he cannot offer financial deals until everything is signed and sealed.

A sticking point could be the fact that the Amateur Athletic Association of England owns 80 per cent of the British Championships and is reluctant to cede control to API. That event doubles as the European Championships trials so it is the only meeting where all of Britain's athletes must compete.

"We save everything up for the place by next week," said Jon Ridgeon, the API spokesman.

Rugby Union

Pienaar in payment row

David Beresford in Johannesburg

FRANCOIS PIENAAR, the Saracens' player-coach, was paid more than £180,000 to persuade his South Africa teammates not to play in a planned rebel tour in 1995, according to the ousted Louis Luyt.

The Afrikaans daily Beeld yesterday published a copy of the cheque with which, it was alleged, Pienaar was persuaded to abandon his support for the rebel World Rugby Corporation.

The cheque was leaked to Beeld by Luyt, who was forced out as president of the South African Rugby Football Union last weekend. Last week Luyt described Pienaar as a "Judas", accusing the former Springboks captain of having taken "30 pieces of silver". Pienaar threatened to sue, saying: "I am a Christian and those are not nice things to say about anybody."

The cheque was drawn on a South African bank account in the name of the Transvaal

Rugby Union of which Luyt is president. It was paid on behalf of Rupert Murdoch's News Corp, which subsequently won the rights to televise Springbok matches in a multi-million rand deal.

Pienaar hit back by saying the money was an above-board commission, with Luyt wanting to pay him more. Pienaar said that since Luyt had lost his fight with the National Sports Council, which had demanded his resignation, he was trying to drag others down with him.

"He must stop his accusations and if he continues to call me a Judas, he has a big problem," Pienaar said. Pienaar had been backing a rebel rugby circuit, headed by a former Australian, official Ross Turnbull, and financed by Murdoch's long-term rival, Kerry Packer. He then made an about-turn.

Sarfu was yesterday reported to be planning an official apology to Nelson Mandela for dragging the South African president into court last month during Luyt's successful battle to

block a judicial commission of inquiry into the game.

Yesterday Luyt lambasted his white compatriots as "spineless" and unable to stand up for their own interests. "Their is no more marrow left in their bones," he said.

The National Sports Council and Sarfu were meeting yesterday to try to thrash out an agreement on the direction of South African rugby. The union's executive has refused sports council demands that they resign en masse.

Tensions between the two bodies have been exacerbated by the union's light punishment of the Springbok forward Topsy van der Linde, who was sent home from New Zealand last month for calling a black South African woman a "kaffir". He was fined £1,200 and banned for six months, but the ban was largely suspended, enabling him to play next week.

The president of the Sports Council, Mkhel George said he should have been banned for life and Sarfu's failure to do so was "typical of the mentality of rugby in this country".

South Africa tours back on

THE tours to South Africa by England, Ireland and Wales were yesterday given the go-ahead after an agreement between rugby officials and the controlling sports body in the Republic.

The South African Rugby Football Union and the National Sports Council agreed after a three-hour meeting to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate Sarfu's affairs. As a result, Sarfu's suspension from the NSC will be lifted along with the threatened tours boycott.

Will Greenwood, the Leicester centre cleared last week after an alleged butt on Newcastle's Rob Andrew, could be ruled out of England's tour after all.

Greenwood will have exploratory keyhole surgery on a damaged shoulder on Saturday. England's coach Clive Woodward said: "Will and I will discuss the results after the surgery. Until that time I'll consider contingency plans for a replacement."

Snooker

Williams plan to woo top 64

REX WILLIAMS, chairman of the World Professional Billiards and Snooker Association board which faces a resolution on June 4 to remove it en bloc, has announced a proposal to pay players ranked in the top 64 £1,000 to wear the WPSA logo next season, writes Chris Eberton.

The plan was described as "electioneering" by Terry Griffiths, who is co-ordinating a vote to remove the board. He is offering himself and two other former world champions, Steve Davis and Dennis Taylor, as an interim board to introduce constitutional changes to the governing body.

Ronnie O'Sullivan, who is alleged to have tested positive for cannabis at the Benson and Hedges Irish Masters in March, had his B sample tested yesterday. The result will be known in several days. O'Sullivan had also tested positive for a banned substance contained in a painkiller he took for an injured foot at the B & H Masters in February 1996. While it might have been an inadvertent offence, it was never disclosed.

Sport in brief

Sailing

With 700 miles to go, the eighth leg of the Whitbread Round the World Race is poised for a close finish into La Rochelle, writes Bob Fisher. Any of the nine boats could finish first and much depends on the direction of the wind in the final miles. Those left with a light wind will lose heavily. Grant Dalton's Merit Cup holds the leg lead, 1.6 miles ahead of Paul Standbridge in Toshiba.

Boxing

George Foreman, who will be 50 next January, and Larry Holmes, 49 in November, are being lined up for a big-money heavyweight fight in October or January.

Hockey

The England striker Tina Cullen may have to pull out of next week's World Cup finals in Holland with a broken jaw sustained soon after she scored in Tuesday's 1-1 draw against Australia, writes Pat Roney. Leicester's Sarah Blanks are being called up as cover and will replace Cullen tonight when England meet Australia again at Milton Keynes.

Those who evolve succeed.

Go! Monty takes on the world

David Jones of the International

1d

Knight with test of nerve

N

Cricket 0900 16 15

Cricket

SportsGuardian

European Cup Winners' Cup Final

Chelsea 1 VfB Stuttgart 0

Quick-fire Zola lights up Chelsea

Substitute's touch of magic puts Blues over the moon

Martin Thorpe in Stockholm

CHELSEA last night completed their most successful trip on the tight-rope they regularly walk between vulnerability in defence and nerve in attack, to lift triumphantly the European Cup Winners' Cup.

One day the balance on which the London side's play-teeters may be exposed, but in Stockholm yesterday Stuttgart lacked the style or substance to do so.

A 67th-minute goal from Gianfranco Zola, who had been on the pitch for only 45 seconds, brought Chelsea their first European trophy since 1971.

The early advantage was Chelsea's, with their fans occupying not only three tiers behind one goal but most of two tiers behind the other which were supposed to be neutral, after the Germans failed to sell the bulk of their allocation.

As a result the Rasunda Stadium could have been Stamford Bridge on a spring evening, with the sun setting behind one stand and a chorus of One Man Went To Mow rising from another.

A day fuelled by optimism and Swedish beer was dampened slightly by the news that Zola had suffered a setback in morning training, and after all the positive words about his presence in the starting line-up after a long injury lay-off he was on the bench.

His place went to Tore Andre Flo, the two-goal hero of the quarter-final first leg in Spain and a player in need of some timely encouragement after his recent mutterings of discontent about a too-frequent place on the bench.

The loss of Zola's experi-

ence in this sort of high-pressure game was as crucial as the loss of his prompting skills up front. But Chelsea also had to cope with the unavailability of the England left-back Graeme Le Saux, missing with injury and taking with him further top-level experience.

This presented a true test of character for the young full-back replacement Danny Granville who, playing for Cambridge United last season, could not have envisaged he would be taking part in such a high-pressure and high-profile game just over a year later.

He was, though, reassured by the confidence with which the older hands around him began the match, strutting purposefully towards the Stuttgart goal and going close after only six minutes.

Really it was a chance Chelsea should have put away. A clever move ended with Gustavo Poyet feeding Roberto Di Matteo who, with time to choose his spot from 16 yards, unleashed a shot which scooted disappointingly wide.

Alerted perhaps by this early let-off, Stuttgart slowly but ominously came into the game. On 12 minutes Steve Clarke's skewed clearance fell invitingly for Fredi Bobic, whose clear run to the area ended with a wasteful shot beyond Ed De Goey's right-hand post.

Two minutes later the Stuttgart captain met Krasimir Balakov's corner with a header which again sailed just wide. And five minutes after that let-off, Chelsea allowed Balakov to spring from his position in the hole behind the strikers with a run at the heart of their defence which brushed aside Clarke's challenge and ended with a vital save from De Goey.

Although Stuttgart's more studious possession had created these chances, towards half-time Chelsea's ability to move the ball forward quickly on the break brought them back into the game. A Flo header landed on top of the net. Di Matteo's first-time shot was beaten away by Franz Wohlfahrt and a Dennis Wise volley went just wide.

As a result, Chelsea went into half-time more buoyed than they might have been. And when they emerged from the interval they seemed to have more spring in their step. After 53 minutes Wise shot just wide. Five minutes later Granville went closer from 19 yards, forcing the German keeper to save to his right. But on 70 minutes Chelsea's coach on the bench, Graham Rix, made what turned out to be a momentous substitution as he replaced Flo with Zola.

Within 45 seconds of his appearance on the pitch the little Italian striker had put Chelsea ahead and broken the deadlock. Wise, from a central position about 35 yards out, fed a perceptive ball forward which bisected the Stuttgart defence and fell perfectly for Zola, inside the area, to fire past Wohlfahrt. The Chelsea supporters, and the Chelsea team, went wild with delight.

Chelsea's evening was spoiled slightly when Dan Petrescu was harshly sent off for a foul on Murat Yakin, to be followed by Stuttgart's Gerhard Poschner in injury time. But nothing could have made a dent in the London team's celebrations.

Chelsea (4-4-2): De Goey; Clarke, Duberry, Labovici, Granville; Petrescu, Wise, Di Matteo, Poyet (Newton, Smith); Flo (Zola, 70); Vialli.

Stuttgart (2-4-1-3): Wohlfahrt; Schneider (Endres, 55); Yakin, Poschner, Wagner (Pilat, 78); Balakov; Bobic, Akpobior.

Referee: S Brusch (FR).



Agony before the ecstasy... Chelsea's Gustavo Poyet is pushed down by Fredi Bobic

PHOTOGRAPH: ATTILA NISSENDEK

Wise surprise ingredient in a tasty shrimp cocktail

David Lacey salutes a welcome appetiser for next week's European Cup showdown

AT this time of the year the Cup Winners' Cup final is European football's shrimp cocktail. The sauce may be piquant and the main ingredient tasty but it soon tends to be overtaken by more meaningful events.

Not too many people will be harking back to last night's offering when Juventus and Real Madrid contest the European Cup final in Amsterdam next Wednesday. Nevertheless the speed with which Gianluca Vialli turned the final Chelsea's way was memorable.

For all that, neither Chelsea nor Stuttgart are familiar faces at European prize-givings so there was always a freshness about last night's occasion which was not entirely due to the evening breeze off the Baltic.

The Rasunda Stadium is

where, six years ago, Graham Taylor aroused the nation's wrath by taking off Gary Lineker when England were eliminated from the European Championship by Sweden. These days there is more regard for the feelings of England captains.

In September England will return to Stockholm for a 2000 European Championship qualifier. So last night Chelsea had a chance to leave the Rasunda echoing with the sounds of an English celebration, even if there were those in their team who had more regard for the well-being of Italy, France and Romania.

There were 14 nationalities on the field at the start last night. When West Ham won the Cup Winners' Cup at Wembley in 1965, beating another German club, Munich 1860, their team was en-

tirely English. "Up The Irons" declared one banner in the Stuttgart section. Clearly someone had a long memory. "Vialli for Pope" was the message from Chelsea, anything being possible post-Bosman.

There was a period early in the game when Chelsea appeared in dire need of Papai intervention, or some such. Far from recalling images of West Ham's success in the 1965 they appeared intent on summoning up the shades of West Ham's 4-2 defeat by Anderlecht in the 1976 final.

Chelsea knew that Krasimir Balakov was the Stuttgart's orchestrator but still appeared intent on handing the Bulgarian the baton while wondering if he did requests. Only when Dennis Wise began to block off Balakov's angles did Stuttgart start to stutter.

It was tempting to believe that, on his form this season, Zola would not have posed too much of a threat on a lumpy pitch which held up

the ball's natural run. Which goes to show how idle some thoughts can be.

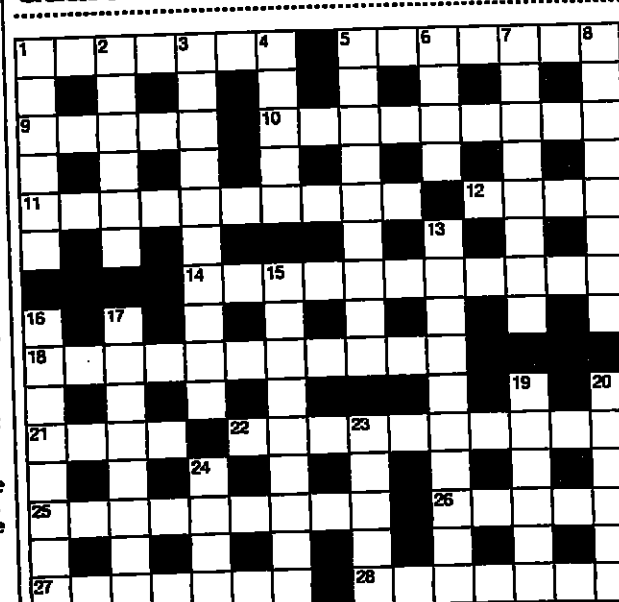
It was not that Chelsea created fewer scoring chances. Before half-time, in fact, they had more, and their evening would have undoubtedly been more straightforward had Roberto Di Matteo not dragged that shot wide after five minutes.

There was an absorbing battle of wits between, on the one hand, Tor Andre Flo and Thomas Berthold and, on the other, Gianluca Vialli and Thomas Schneider. When Flo moved to the left, working with Danny Granville to turn the right flank of Stuttgart's defence, Chelsea looked more capable of taking a grip on the match.

In the event they only did so once Flo had given way to Zola. The situation demanded one of Mark Hughes's spectacular match-winners. Instead the moment was provided by the name that has you murmuring, "J'accuse".

Guardian Crossword No 21,274

Set by Araucaria



Across

- 1 Revolting artist took endless time going round platform (7)
- 5 Request on island for a flower (7)
- 9 The belle dame didn't have any, thank you (5)
- 10 Equidistant from the centre, a new ear clinic (2,1,6)
- 11 So called oriental article's pockmarked outside (10)

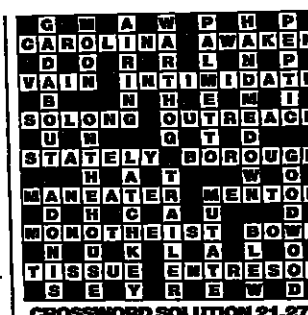
Down

- 12 Pleased to take stone for statesman (4)
- 14 Dish to silence the teacher of religion in the world (5,6)
- 18 David is the one who takes the rest of the horses (11)
- 21,24 Select burner for Samuel (8)
- 22 Martin's note about not starting to silence the West (10)

- 25 Head student at Cambridge University in Spanish city — merry thought! (9)
- 26 Not polite about note for Barnaby (5)
- 27 A little bit of a gamble on the return of the deer (7)
- 28 All round the sea bird is bone (7)

Down

- 1 Paul and Paul, Benedictine and Turk (6)
- 2 Little Amy, a beetle getting slower (6)
- 3 Doing Dublin's chimneys is a gamble (5,5)
- 4 Oliver's tobacco (5)
- 5 Supporter for cinematic raptor has scraper and rubber in car (5-4)
- 6 Benefit from being one in spirit (4)
- 7 Nicholas is reported to have put 5 cents aside (8)
- 8 A story and an ode, etc., translated (8)
- 13 Footwear for actor and producer of fragrant wood (6,4)
- 15 Space under roof at home of footballer (9)
- 16 Diamonds and lots of wolves — these should cool them (3-5)
- 17 One with wisdom is without speed, now we can go so far (5,3)



19 Country journalist in his element upside down? (5)
20 Current way to get paper (6)
23 Enthusiasm's a Wiltshire village (5)
24 See 21
Solution tomorrow

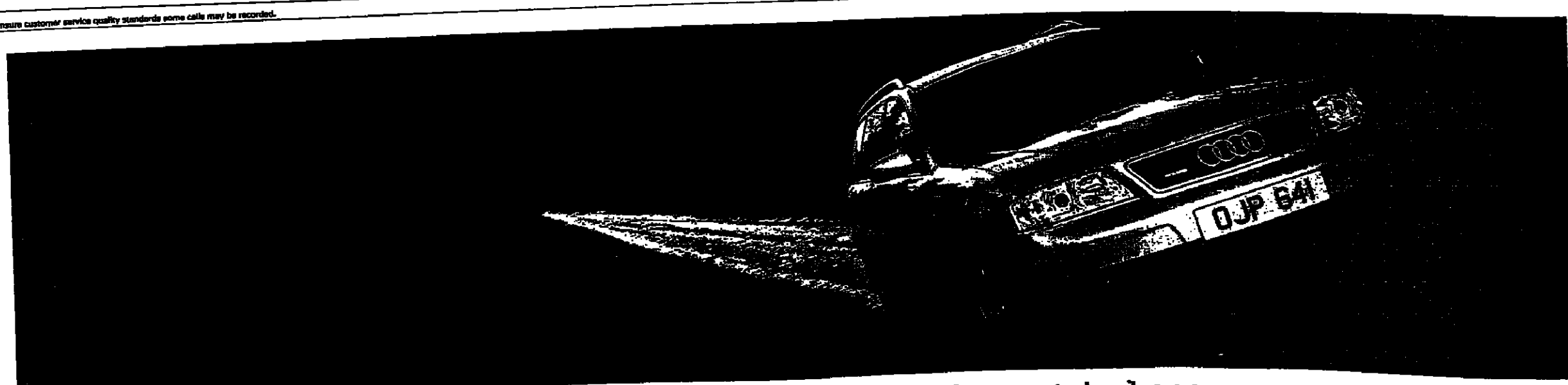
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